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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESSES

URBAN INFLUENCE AND SELECTION

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ABSTRACT

As creators and centers of culture, cities dominate greater and greater areas of hinterland populations, due especially to the multiplication of the kinds of cultural goods and the appearance of new agencies of distribution. This is the urbanization of contiguous inhabitants. There are advantages and disadvantages to the outlying populations consequent to this urbanization. Urban selective influence is both psychosocial and psychophysical. Psychosocial effects are seen in the molding and directive influences which urban centers manifest relative to farming inhabitants. Certain points of view are imposed upon outlying populations instead of others which might have prevailed. Psychophysical effects are quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative aspects appear in population movements and redistribution (rural and urban migration, rapid decrease of urban inhabitants, long-standing comparative decrease of farm populations, and recent actual decrease of farming inhabitants). Qualitatively a study of rural and urban migration and of the characteristics of urban and farm populations, leads to the opinion that the curve of distribution of capacity is being affected. Cities are accumulating a disproportionate share of educated leaders in non-agricultural and criminaloid lines, and of the pathological and subnormal classes generally, but suffer a comparative loss of the average, normal, unexceptional individuals. Country populations are characterized by a relatively smaller proportion of educated leaders and pathological classes and a larger proportion of normal but unexceptional persons. One inclines to believe that the level of inherent talent is not greatly disturbed.

Urbanism and urbanization occupy large places in the rise and development of human society. Urbanism is a particular kind of group existence which is accompanied by fairly well recognized conditions and results. All available evidence indicates that mankind has lived in groups from the very beginning. But urbanism is a late arrival in the history of the human race. Should we allow 1,000,000 years as the span of human experience, anything like urbanism could be assigned to not more than the last 6,000 years, or only about six-tenths of one per cent of the whole human era. It therefore appears that over 99 per cent of our human existence has been consumed in other forms of group life than the urban. Since the days of the horde, the prevailing form has been village

existence. Village life preceded both urban and rural life. The individualistic form of agricultural habitation which we know in America and in some other nations is a very late arrival on the scene. The dominant form of agricultural life has been the agricultural village.

The present intensification of urbanism and urban life makes its appeal to many students of social affairs as phenomenal. We are liable to regard the expansion of city life into all nations of an advanced kind and its development to the highest degree in such nations as a mutation in the life of society. However, it is well to remember that the great nations of antiquity were based upon or at least accompanied by a high degree of urbanism. Some of the outstanding ancient nations, politically, were city-states, more or less extensive and widely distributed populations dominated by some large city center. In others a great city held a place of much influence. We have but to recall Babylon, Ur, Nipur, Memphis, Thebes, Damascus, Athens, Rome, Carthage, Syracuse to observe the significance of great cities of ancient times in the political life of states, at least in their early stages. When widespread nationalities arose, there was an inevitable tendency to submerge or subordinate cities to the political rule of the larger entity.

The city¹ of modern times outstrips all its predecessors of ancient or medieval ages in the influence it wields over surrounding inhabitants and in the vital processes of the great society. The advent of printing, railways, schools, newspapers, telegraph, wireless, and radio has furnished agencies by which the city can exert a cultural and trade pressure of great reach and momentum upon the surrounding populations. Leaders in trade and cultural lines segregate in cities and exert their leadership potencies from those places. The cities are the reservoirs of the cultural surplus not directly connected with extracting raw materials from soil and earth and the different kinds of this cultural capital are purveyed to surrounding territories by way of press, radio, and other speedy distributors; or in the shape of museums, libraries, galleries, theaters, and the like, the cultural stock is visited and used by the

¹ For purposes of this discussion, I shall use the words town, city, and urban to represent all non-agricultural population of the United States as distinct from farm, agricultural, or country inhabitants.

hinterland peoples. As a center for the production and distribution of goods, the modern city finds no rival in other times. Power machinery has brought workers together to carry on factory production. Science and invention have created and fashioned thousands of new kinds of goods and utilities that were undreamed of and impossible to, people of former times. Perfected communicating devices have made it possible to transmit factory products quickly and cheaply to the populations of increasingly greater trade dependencies. As a sequence, by far the larger portion of the inhabitants of advanced nations now reside in non-agricultural communities. Great cities absorb a large part of the population. In our own nation, one-fourth of our total population and over a half of our urban population reside in cities of a hundred thousand or more. The population of the ancient civilized world must have been chiefly rural, as it had only comparatively few great cities—possibly one of a million inhabitants and a few others of a hundred thousand to a half-million. The world now has approximately 9 cities of several million inhabitants each, 26 of a million or more, and probably 400 to 500 each with a population of a hundred thousand or more.

We find a rather striking situation as regards the interaction sustained between the urban nucleus and the widely dissipated inhabitants occupying outlying areas. So far as trade goes, the currents set both ways in somewhat counterbalancing proportions. That is, the amount of agricultural goods fairly offsets that of urban manufactured goods. But regarding the cultural processes, we find an entirely different situation. Our cities are the chief creators and the almost exclusive reservoirs and purveyors of the culture surplus. It is inevitable, therefore, that the flow of cultural influences is from city to country and that there is a minimum of a reverse current. The consequence is that the rural populations are being flooded and inundated not only by material commodities emanating from cities but by ideas, action and life-patterns, styles, fashions, modes of dress, of living, of eating and of drinking, of dancing and of courting, of bobbing hair and deforming the foot by wearing stilts for shoe heels, of automobiling, flying, sporting, dying and being buried.

Because of this great outward flow of trade and other cultural influences, farming populations are placed in a situation that has its advantages and its disadvantages, which are even greater perhaps. There are undoubted and marked blessings bestowed on them by the nuclear cities. Many of the material utilities represent distinctive contributions to the art of living and working. Wherever they have been adopted, they have enhanced the convenience and comfort of living tremendously. The mental life has been elevated and broadened by the contributions of science, art, philosophy, and literature. The advances in these fields have had a beneficial reaction upon religion and morals. Health and sanitation, modes of organization and control for collective purposes, ideals and relationships within the family, the appreciation of child life and of the human virtues have been promoted and refined.

There are certain disadvantages to agricultural populations from the increasing hegemony of cities. We shall have to be content with the mention of a few of the more important ones.

The compactness of town life, the opportunity for daily contact and intercourse, and the ease of operating mass-psychology enable leaders to perfect business organizations by means of which economic advantages are promoted and maintained relative to agriculturists. On the other hand, agriculturists, because of their spacial aloofness, the isolated nature of their technical calling, the infrequency of association with other farmers, and the individualistic personalities this situation develops are weak and backward in organization for both defensive and offensive objectives. As a consequence, urban wealth increases disproportionately while agricultural wealth relatively declines.

Along with this goes the psychological methods of control practiced by urban business as applied to promoting sales. Expert advertising, high-power salesmanship, and other modern devices for making business efficient are applied to the comparatively defenseless minds of farmers and the latter are able to employ only a minimum of such promoting agencies upon urbanites as consumers of agricultural goods. Thus agriculturists are constantly subjected to economic exploitation by city business without in turn being in a position to subject industrial and commercial popula-

tions to a return exploitation. Add to this the fact that the larger share of the marketing organization is in the hands of non-agriculturists, and we have a condition of economic society that is very much against the farming population and business.

In the political field, the agencies of mass-control reside chiefly in the hands of urban organizations and interests and agriculturists are outwitted and outvoted even on issues pertaining to farm enterprises. Admitting that agrarian reform movements have sometimes been wild and have occasionally interpreted the fiats of nature as being those of trusts, monopolies, and chambers of commerce, nevertheless, most of the policies which have been proposed by agrarian movements from the time of the Grangers and which were economically sound have at the time of their inception been opposed along with the unsound by urban press and leaders.

The soundness of some of the historic agrarian movements is attested by the fact that most of their policies have been adopted by one or the other of the old parties, and have passed into legislation at the hands of the national government and various state governments. We have steadfastly refused to approve surplus legislation or any other fundamental national marketing undertaking on behalf of farmers although it is generally admitted that they have been in an unjustly disadvantageous economic position for years. Many who favor surplus legislation are willing to admit that it would be an experiment and that this experiment might cost the nation fifty or a hundred million dollars through its failure to operate successfully should it be adopted. But it is called to mind that we adopt vastly more speculative undertakings without hesitation, such as appropriating hundreds of millions of dollars annually for naval and army equipment, much of which, there appears to be ample reason for thinking, will be obsolete and useless in case of war because of recent advances in science and mechanical invention.

One other disadvantage of farmers in their relation to urban life is worthy of mention. The cultural surplus of society is chiefly resident in cities and is, as a consequence, at the almost exclusive disposal of urban residents. This may be inevitable, but the fact remains that this gives the latter profound advantages and enables

them to enjoy comforts and satisfactions of which agriculturists are deprived. According to our American plan of population distribution and of carrying on agriculture, farmers must live apart from towns and in spatial isolation. Since society is a great co-operative undertaking, it would seem that the cultural surplus should be available to all individuals and be enjoyed by all. As it is, our agricultural inhabitants fail to enter into our cultural heritage duly. Should farmers become urban residents and operate their farms from centers of considerable size, they would be in a position to share equally with urbanites in this respect. Perhaps only the arrival of the golden age, the great utopia, will be sufficient to rectify the seeming injustice.

Some sort of selection is the direct outcome of urban influence and we may assume that, as elsewhere in the universe, the selective results here are proportioned to the influence wielded. These selective effects are not visited upon farming populations alone but are registered also in those of cities.

I shall have to pass over with a mere mention the psycho-social selective effects of town on country. The urban influences of this kind are largely molding and directive, although they may have something of a selective character also. What I desire to give my attention to is the psychophysical effects of urban influence. These appear in both farming and urban populations and bear a quantitative as well as a qualitative aspect.

I shall first review as briefly as possible the quantitative psychophysical selective effects. These effects are seen in the volume of rural and urban migration, the reduction in the increase of farm population, and the increment of town populations.

The primary and direct effect of urban influence is seen in the drift of population from farms to cities. Rural migration is so vast as almost to be unbelievable. Net migration from farms alone must have been over three million for the first decade of this century, and about four and a half million during the second decade. We have no means of knowing what the gross migration was because we knew nothing about a return migration from city to country at that time.

Our federal government began sample studies of the criss-cross

migration between town and country a few years ago. It finds that migration from farms to cities is some two million a year between 1922 and 1927 and the reverse migration from city to farms is about 850,000 a year. We may regard this flow from city to country as the secondary, indirect effect of urban influence, since about 87 per cent of the migrants originated on farms or had had farm experience.

This vast movement of population from farms has had two results: first, it has lowered the rate of increase of farm populations and finally caused a sheer decrease of that population. Decade by decade down to 1920, the increase of rural population steadily declined until it was only 5.4 per cent between 1910 and 1920, while for the same decade the rate of national increase was about 15 per cent and that of urban districts was nearly 26 per cent. We did not know much about the statistics of our agricultural population prior to the census of 1920, when the first census of the strictly farm population was taken and tabulated. Estimates based on the census of 1910 and 1920 reckoned a farm population increase of only 1.9 per cent during that decade. The later studies of the federal government indicate that there was an actual decline of farm population between 1920 and 1925 of 1.5 per cent and that this same per cent of decline obtained for the next year.

This great migration to cities and villages is a source of increase of urban population of first importance. According to my estimate, rural migration accounted for 31 per cent of the increase of urban population between 1900 and 1910. Immigration then accounted for a larger portion of that increase, 41 per cent. During the decade 1910-20, 45 per cent of the urban gain must be ascribed to the rural source. Immigration, at the same time, had a force of only 23 per cent. Probably today a third or more of the growth of urban population is to be assigned to the movement of dirt farmers from farms.

My inquiry concerning the quantitative selective results of urban influence deals with the supply and distribution of talent or capacity. We want to know if city or country is being robbed of its due supply of capacity and ability by the currents of population cities have set in motion. I cannot hope to demonstrate my

conclusions past cavil, only to make them seem probable or at least possible.

If the common assumption is true that farming populations are being robbed of their supply of talent and cities correspondingly enriched, we ought by all means to discover it. If it is true, then perhaps the current misfortunes of farmers are to be ascribed to mental deterioration and Congress should be asked to investigate how the urban reservoirs of proliferating talent may be drawn off to the country for restorative and rejuvenating purposes.

Now let us assume that the curve of distribution of capacity of the agricultural and urban populations were practically identical, originally, say some decades ago prior to our great industrial expansion and intensified urbanization. If the farm and town populations are dissimilar now, the causes, I take it, must be sought chiefly in the great interplay of migration from town to farm and from farm to town. There may be other important causes of differentiation but we are not concerned with them in this discussion.

There are certain intangibles in this situation but there are also some tangibles. The evidence is rather of the indirect sort, but it is nevertheless fairly convincing because of its cumulative, mutually corroborative nature.

The capacity distribution curve of the hosts of people migrating from country to town is probably somewhat swollen at the point occupied by the talented classes. The youths who become highly educated leave the farms permanently. This must represent a score or more thousands of persons each year. These young people go to college or take professional courses with the distinct purpose of leaving the farm. Were they to return to the farm after pursuing advanced training appropriate to agricultural pursuits and life, their contribution to the improvement of farm life would doubtless be great. Besides these educated youth, a considerable contingent of experienced and talented criminals and criminaloids abdicate rural districts for the greater vocational opportunities and the security of the large cities.

Regarding the pathological classes, there is reason to think that they are more highly represented in this migration to cities than among farming populations generally. The criminality ratio

of urban districts is in general twice that of rural districts in the United States, although graver crimes seem to be proportionally as numerous among farmers as among urbanites. In Canada, urban criminality is overwhelmingly greater than the rural. The criminally inclined seem to select cities as *rendezvous* and bases of operation for such crimes as bank robberies in outlying places. Suicides in the country are only half as frequent proportionally as in cities. This may only mean that stimuli toward and manias for suicide are more fecund in the latter. Dependency is overwhelmingly greater in town than in country, many of the poverty-stricken consisting of those from rural districts who are unadjusted, unemployable, or truly parasitic. The hobohemias of the great cities harbor hundreds of thousands of hoboes each winter, Chicago alone accommodating some 30,000. The ease of securing relief and the attractions of bread lines in urban places are magnetic objectives to the incompetent, unfortunate, and marginal classes. The ratio of insanity in urban populations is almost exactly double that in rural districts. I have no information as to whether there is a tendency for the insane to drift to cities. Unfortunately urban conditions are highly favorable to the development of that malady. But it is possible, also, that there is a tendency for the nervously unstable and highly tensioned individuals to drift to the towns. I have been accustomed to think that feeble-mindedness is more largely a rural than an urban problem because in isolated communities the chances for inbreeding are greater and so the multiplication of defects is greatly enhanced. Yet, according to data cited by Bossard, for New York State, the urban feeble-minded there are disproportionately more numerous than among rural inhabitants. Since conditions promoting inbreeding are absent in cities, we must suppose either that urban conditions promote the production of that defect or that the excess drifts in from the outside. We also should note that the predisposition to morbidity goes along with dependency which is comparatively greater in cities and, further, that cities tend to draw the blind and deaf to themselves because of more available forms of employment. Consequently we must think that there is an entirely disproportionate accumulation of the various pathological classes in the towns of our country.

We may then sum up the results of the migration from country to towns on the qualitative psychophysical characteristics of rural and urban populations. Leaving the question of innate capacity out of account, it would seem that rural migration considerably augments the proportion of both the talented and the pathological classes of urban groups and proportionately reduces both classes among rural inhabitants. This being true, there must be a corresponding reduction of the supply of the average unexceptional individuals in the population of cities and an enlargement of the supply in the population of agricultural sections. However, since this middle class is 90 or 95 per cent of the entire population, the resulting shrinkage or expansion is comparatively slight.

I shall now consider the qualitative psychophysical effects of urban migration, that is, the movement from towns to farms. First, let us learn something about these 850,000 individuals who annually settle on farms. From a study of some 1,200 farmers who had moved to farms from cities and villages, the federal government collected the following facts. As would be expected the movement to farms had covered a great many years but over three-fourths of the removals had occurred during the three years, 1924-26. About 87 per cent of the cases had been born on the farm or had had experience in farming. There were few children or aged, 76 per cent being in the productive period of life, from twenty-five to fifty-four years of age. These farmers had been motivated in returning to or settling on farms by the belief that they would be better off physically, economically, and spiritually—in the sense that moral conditions for rearing children would be better and that they would possess greater independence.

Now, what do these migrants add to or take away from agricultural and urban populations?

First, it is fairly certain that few of the highly educated inhabitants leave the towns for farms. They may go to suburban towns, to country estates, spread out in villages along trunk highways and the like but they do not go to live on farms or to farm. Second, there is little tendency likewise for the pathological individuals to gravitate toward the country. Perhaps a good many of the hoboes who recruit the ranks of seasonal agricultural laborers are pathological, but they hibernate in cities and identify themselves

with them. There is little or no flow of paupers, insane, feeble-minded, sick, and the antisocial from town to country. The declivity inclines the other way for very evident reasons. It would seem then, that the capacity curve of urban migration toward farms is somewhat disproportionately inflated in the section occupied by the unexceptional and normal individuals and considerably shrunken at the extremes occupied by the talented and pathological classes. The result of this is a reduction of the proportion of average persons in cities and an expansion in the country with a comparative enlargement of the talented and pathological classes in cities and conversely a contraction of the same classes in the country.

It is thus found that the modifications of the capacity curves by urban migration are similar to those of rural migration. Summing the effects of both currents, urban populations are advantaged by a proportional increase of the educated or leadership classes and disadvantaged by an enlargement of the pathological classes. Rural populations are disadvantaged by a disproportionate loss of those who become educated away from farming but advantaged by the desertion of large numbers of pathological individuals. The proportion of average individuals is reduced in urban populations and increased in agricultural populations. Whether these gains and losses are compensatory or whether city or country come out ahead in this game of trading inhabitants are evaluations I find no means of determining.

The question as to the effect of urban selection on the supply of undeveloped talent in city and country demands some consideration. We have to recognize that evidence bearing on this question is tenuous. Nevertheless the duty of discussing this point cannot be shirked.

I believe that no responsible student of this subject has held that the country population of the United States, generally speaking, has been depleted of its talent, although it has been held that certain sections have had their talented persons drained away in disproportionate amounts. It was not claimed, however, that the drainage was exclusively to cities, for some of the currents set toward more remote agricultural districts.

It appears to me that the long-standing dogma that pioneers and migrants are superior in ability to those left behind needs to be regarded with suspicion as not having been sufficiently attested by facts. The evidence really may be to the effect that it is the more able who stay at home, have the foothold and possession of the situation, and that it is the less able and the footloose who migrate. The results of the investigations of Zimmerman in Minnesota lend some support to this position. He found that children of successful farmers are much more likely to stay on the farm than those of the unsuccessful.

There can be little doubt, I think, that the supply of talent of the educated kind is proportionately very much greater in town than in country, accepting the conventional meaning of education. This does not require discussion. Further, it has been amply demonstrated that the proportion of notables born in cities is overwhelmingly greater than that born in rural districts. According to Odin, during five centuries among French-speaking peoples the urban ratio was nearly thirteen times the rural. For the United States, Visser finds that large cities produce by birth 5.6 times as many notables proportionally as the farms and that the suburbs of such cities produce nearly eleven times as many. If innate but undeveloped talent is proportioned to that developed, then cities are very much richer than farms in that respect.

There are two cautions to be administered here, however, regarding these facts. They do not necessarily reveal the situation regarding undeveloped talent. Nor do the list of notables in *Who's Who* and other such works include men who have been great as farmers. Our dice here also are loaded against agriculturists. In order to be counted great, a farmer would have to quit farming and develop himself as artist, scientist, inventor, writer, actor, business or professional man. Our list makers have not reckoned great or successful farming as an achievement. How many of the notables in our books listing men of achievement would be notable when measured in terms of farming? If agriculturists were to compile the lists of eminent men and at the same time were to be afflicted with the same degree of myopia in favor of farming as the present list makers have had against farming, there would be scarcely any notables other than farmers in the books. As it is, it is likely that

the notables born on farms sustain as high a ratio to those who have migrated from farms as those born in cities do to the urban population. Further, it would be fair to inquire what proportion of farmers born in cities become successful farmers as compared with country-born farmers.

There have been those who hold that the country stock is superior to the urban because its mortality rate is lower. One prominent writer attributes this to what he thinks is a fact, namely, that the old, original population of our nation was Nordic and that this Nordic stock clung to the country as a homogeneous stock. Of course this is a ridiculous assumption for various reasons and reveals the weakness of the usual racial explanation. For, first, the original population of this country was a hodge-podge of nationalities and racial types of which only a minority could have qualified as Nordics. Second, it is the out-door conditions of life of the country rather than race stock which accounts for the lower mortality rates among agricultural populations. Third, the fact that in several states now the urban death rate is below the rural rate cannot be explained on racial grounds, as by referring it to a sudden revolutionary shift of a Nordic population from country to city.

Because agricultural youths are educated away from the farms by the colleges and other higher educational institutions they attend, it is commonly assumed that the supply of talent in the country is being exhausted. It is assumed that the supply of talent departs with those who are educated and that the population remaining on farms is devoid of talent. This is an assumption which those who go to college like to make but there is considerable evidence that points to an equality of capacity of ruralites and urbanites. The intelligence quotients of nearly 12,000 high-school students showed little difference between those who intended to go to college and those who did not. Intelligence tests of farm and non-farm school children of Connecticut indicate that the very heavy urban selection that has occurred there has not done harm to the supply of native ability of the farming people. Intelligence tests, of course, are made to catch only capacity of a certain kind. Were we to assume that college men and women from farms are superior in intellectual or academic lines to their brothers and sisters left on the farms, we are warranted in alleging, on the contrary, that

those on the farms are superior to the collegiates in other lines of ability and capacity. I am convinced that I have met many farmers who, though uneducated, possessed intellects, which in sheer capacity and strength were very much above the average of college students. I remember talking to a farmer thirty years ago when I was fresh from a study of the philosophy of Immanuel Kant who astonished me by expressing the fundamental synthetic principle of that great philosopher's system.

The fact that notables are concentrated in urban districts may seem to prove that they are born where the supply of talent is greatest. This was the position taken by Stoddard and Huntington in recent articles. Yet I believe both of the writers were impressed by the lack of convincing quality in their arguments. In old, settled populations such as are found in Europe, it is conceivable that enduring selective processes have segregated talent in cities. But in our nation, where there has always been free intercourse and great mobility of population and where the agricultural population has been overwhelmingly dominant until recent decades, such selective segregation appears to be most improbable. Even among the French-speaking people previously cited, if there was such a selective segregation it was a most unaccountable one. For some great cities were rich in men of achievement born there while others equally great manifested the greatest paucity. Châteaux were more fecund than cities, just as in our country, college towns are more fecund than those without colleges.

In spite of the tendency among some recent investigators to assign other than cultural causes as the explanation of the greater fecundity of cities than of farm populations in the production of leaders and men of achievement, I am inclined to believe that the explanation offered by Odin remains valid. After his exhaustive analysis of the situation surrounding the birthplace of the men of achievement of French-speaking peoples for five centuries, he concluded that cities produce more notable men because they possessed more cultural stimuli capable of developing talent. In line with this is the California study by Adams of rural children where it was found that intelligence varied according to opportunities for cultural contacts.

AN APPRAISAL OF THE COMMUNITY MOVEMENT

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ABSTRACT

The recent growth of interest in the community as a social unit is traced among both the sociologists and the social workers. Early characteristics of the community movement are pointed out and consideration is given to the forces that are making impractical the ideal of neighborhood reconstruction. A great deal of confusion in the community movement is caused by the failure to distinguish between community organization and group organization. The two most important phases of the community movement are presented and evaluated: (1) federation as it has found expression in community chests and councils; and (2) the development of community-wide programs designed to promote community solidarity. The paper concludes with a statement of new trends in the community movement.

One of the striking aspects of the recent interest in social reconstruction has been the increasing emphasis upon the community as a social unit of real significance. The term, community, is by no means a new invention, for in its original meaning of common life it has long been a familiar concept descriptive of the natural grouping of people in small, local areas, a characteristic type of association handed down from the earliest historical times. The tribal community among pre-literate peoples, the village commune in medieval Europe, the utopian communities of the nineteenth century, bear sufficient witness to the long history of this term and the common-sense meaning that was ordinarily attached to it. Prior to the opening of the present century, there was occasional reference to the community in the literature of the social sciences but for the most part only in a casual way, and it was not ordinarily deemed of sufficient importance to be given special mention in an index or table of contents. Among the first English books to use this term in their title were Sir Henry Maine's *Village Communities*, published in 1871, and F. Seebohm's *The English Village Community*, which appeared in 1890.

The gradually evolving interest in the community as a suitable unit for serious study received great impetus from the publication

in England of such books as Booth, *Life and Labor of the People of London* (1892); Rountree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, and Besant, *East London*, both published in 1901. In America, this interest in social problems centering in the congested quarters of great cities found expression in two volumes by Riis, *How the Other Half Lives* and *The Battle of the Slum*. While these books, published in 1890 and 1892, were impressionistic descriptions lacking Booth's zeal for statistical facts, they were none the less revealing and convincing. Another landmark in these early community studies was *Hull House Maps and Papers* which was published in 1895 by residents of Hull House. An unusual feature of this volume was a colored map showing graphically the location of the different nationalities in a downtown section of the city, a type of study which foreshadowed the more elaborate ecological studies undertaken many years later. The first beginnings of the utilization of the statistical method in American books in this field are seen in Weber, *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century: A Study in Statistics* (1899), and in the volume by Hunter, *Tenement Conditions in Chicago: Report by the Investigating Committee of the City Homes Association*, which appeared in 1901.

These volumes which grew for the most part out of the advancing interest in social and civic reform, were paralleled by publications in the academic field under the auspices of university departments of sociology. One of the first of these, Small and Vincent, *Introduction to the Study of Society*, which was published in 1895, embarked on the unique experiment of devoting considerable space to a detailed analysis of an anonymous community under the heading of "A Natural History of a Society." Although this attempt of Vincent to give concrete reality to Small's abstract generalizations apparently did not convince his colleagues of the value of utilizing community studies as an aid in their formulation of social theory, it did stimulate the preparation of descriptive studies of small towns in connection with undergraduate courses in sociology. Professor G. P. Wyckoff, who had come under the influence of Vincent as a graduate student, states that his students in sociology at Grinnell College between 1895 and 1900 prepared a number of such studies as a part of their classroom work. At the

University of Chicago, however, Dr. Vincent's pioneer excursion into the field of the community does not seem to have made a deep impression during the years immediately following. The first doctor's thesis in the department of sociology at that University based definitely on the study of a community was Bushnell's *Study of the Stockyards Community at Chicago in 1901*, and this stands alone among Chicago theses in this field until McKenzie's *The Neighborhood: A Study of Local Life in Columbus, Ohio* was completed twenty years later.

It is to Columbia rather than to Chicago that we must turn for what seems to be academic recognition of the value of such studies during the period when social workers were making their first efforts to build up a technique for the social survey of communities. Jones, *The Sociology of a New York City Block* (1904); Williams, *An American Town* (1906); Wilson, *Quaker Hill; A Sociological Study* (1908); and Sims, *A Hoosier Village: A Sociological Study with Special Reference to Social Causation* (1912), were Doctor's dissertations written at Columbia University, all of which furnish some evidence of the nature of the academic contribution to the development of community studies.

The influences, however, that gradually brought the community into the foreground of attention had their chief development not in universities but in social movements interested in practical reforms. At first, leadership in this field found its most favorable soil in the social settlements which in the closing decade of the last century grew rapidly in public favor. *The City Wilderness*, (1898) and *Americans in Process* (1902), both of which were settlement studies by residents and associates of South End House, Boston, under the direction of Robert A. Woods, stand out as pioneer efforts in American studies of local communities and did much to fix the form of the social surveys that were then in the early stages of their development.

To a large degree, the first writings of the social-settlement leaders centered around social conditions and problems characteristic of congested city districts. The community idea was without doubt implicit in their work from the start but real emphasis upon the community did not come about until a much later day.

Their interest was in a more effective democracy in building up helpful social relationships and in developing a public sentiment that would insist upon an improvement of social conditions. While the territory around the settlement house was spoken of as a neighborhood, the emphasis was not at first on the neighborhood as a geographical or social unit but upon the people who lived near enough to profit by its services. The settlement was to be the center of a radiating culture rather than the center of a natural community. The neighborhood was accepted as it existed with no attempt to mark off its boundaries or study critically the forces that determined its growth. Neighborliness was the goal of the settlement leaders. Many years before Cooley pointed out the important rôle of neighborhood groups in the process of socialization, the social settlements had set for themselves the task of reconstruction of city neighborhoods as the best means of approach to social problems. It is easily apparent now that one of their chief difficulties has been this insistence upon a philosophy of neighborhood and local community against which the forces of modern life have been increasingly arrayed. Nevertheless, they blazed the way for the community movement at a time when almost the entire trend of social thinking was turned in an opposite direction.

The gradual emergence of what is now called the community movement can perhaps best be traced by glancing through some of the published papers of civic and social work leaders from the beginning of the present century. The National Conference of Charities and Correction had in 1902 for the first time a section on "Neighborhood and Civic Improvement." The two papers in this section that year discussed housing reform and management of tenement houses. During the next seven or eight years the Conference program included intermittently a section of this nature called at different times "Neighborhood Improvement"; "Neighborhood Work"; "Needy Families, Their Homes and Neighborhoods"; and "Families and Neighborhoods." The family case workers dominated this section of the Conference with the result that there were few important papers dealing with such matters as housing, playgrounds, and settlement activities, the typical subjects of discussion among the neighborhood and community

workers of that day. It was not until 1910 under the presidency of Jane Addams that the National Conference program gave real recognition to the growing interest in community affairs. That year a new section on "The School and the Community" was established and the section on "Families and Neighborhoods," contrary to past precedent, was turned over to the settlement group. While the standards set by the 1910 Conference in its emphasis on community problems was not maintained the next few years, the earlier neglect of these topics was a thing of the past. Papers began to appear on the "Co-ordination of Civic Efforts in Small Communities," "Organizing the Neighborhood for Recreation," and "Rural Recreation." Apparently by common consent the section on "The Family and the Community" was assigned to the case work group and those interested in the community movement developed sections of their own. In the National Conference program of 1917 there were two important sections bearing the titles, "Community Programs" and "Rural Social Problems," which gave full opportunity for the discussion of a varied assortment of community activities and problems. It was at this Conference that Robert A. Woods and Mary E. McDowell read two important papers on "The City and Its Local Community" and "The Significance to the City of Its Local Community." It was also at this meeting that the financial federation leaders for the first time found a place on the program for the discussion of problems of joint-finance of social agencies. These papers supplemented by the discussion of rural community problems by those interested in the growing country-life movement firmly established the community as a vital subject for the consideration of the National Conference of Social Work. Beginning in 1918, the settlement workers and the country-life interests joined in supporting a section on the "Local Community," while the financial federation group took charge of a new section of their own designated "The Organization of Social Forces." From this time the influence of the community movement is apparent not only in the number of papers presented in these two sections, but also in the fact that papers written from the community point of view began to appear in the other sections on "The

Family," "Children," "Public Agencies and Institutions," and Mental Hygiene.

Prior to 1915, in the Index of the *Survey* the term, "community" was rarely included. The articles in that magazine dealing with community affairs were listed under such headings as neighborhood, playground, social survey, and social settlement. In the first twenty-five volumes of the *American Journal of Sociology* there appeared a few more than one hundred articles which may be broadly classified under the heading of the community movement. These were fairly evenly distributed over the twenty-five-year period (1895-1920), the peak being reached in 1915 with the publication of seven articles. It is significant that only twelve of the articles published in the *Journal* during this period used the term, "community" in their title.

At the present time when community is referred to on every hand, it is well to recall that this term began to come into common use only a little more than a decade ago. Community centers originated as social and civic centers, community studies were first developed under the name of social surveys, community chests were first known as financial or welfare federations, community councils had an earlier history as councils or federations of social agencies, and community churches supplanted the institutional churches of an earlier day. While this recent introduction of the term, "community" into general use may be regarded as the logical culmination of forces at work for many years, this process was undoubtedly facilitated by the exigencies of the war situation. The local community took on a new significance for a democratic people unaccustomed to the inevitable centralization of the war period. At the same time the organization of the local community became the most effective means of mobilizing the people for the support of war activities.

Consequently, those who had been trying in vain to bring the community into the foreground of attention suddenly found the current running swiftly in their direction. Powerful national organizations swung into line and by the adoption of this new terminology gave the community a prestige and status that it had never had before. The American Red Cross, War Camp Com-

munity Service, and the Council of National Defense, three organizations widely representative of the social and civic welfare interests of the nation during the war, became the chief sponsors of the war-time community movement.

Fortunately, along with this enthusiastic and somewhat blind allegiance to the community as a kind of magic talisman of value in dealing with social problems, there developed in academic circles an effort to define the community more accurately and gain a better conception of its rôle in social organization. In 1915, two papers appeared that brought in their train far-reaching changes in the popular conception of the community as a social unit. One was Galpin's *The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community*, published as a research bulletin of the Agricultural Experiment Station of the University of Wisconsin; the other was Park's article on "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the City Environment," which appeared in the *American Journal of Sociology*. Galpin raised questions concerning the nature of the rural community and set forth a technique for the study of its structure and functions. Park called attention to the fundamental inquiries that must be made in order to understand the varied forces inherent in city life and pointed out the value of utilizing the city as a laboratory for the study of human nature and social processes. These two papers laid the foundation for the ecological approach to the study of the community and stimulated new methods of inquiry into its real nature and functions. Their publication has been followed by a rapidly growing list of monographs analyzing both rural and urban communities from different points of view and encouraging the development of an objective and critical attitude that was not characteristic of the community movement in its earlier stages.

This growing alliance between scientific study and practical experimentation has called attention to the need for more accurate definition of the nature of the community movement as well as an evaluation of its various activities. Under the designation of community work, it has been possible for many different kinds of programs to find congenial shelter. To such an extent has this been true that community work is sometimes defined so as to in-

clude all efforts to improve social conditions. It is spoken of as preventive work rather than ameliorative, the implication being that social case work picks up the wreckage of the social order, while community work strives to make life more wholesome and secure. This is, of course, an inaccurate dichotomy, entirely unfair to both groups concerned. Case workers on their part have been aggressive leaders in social and civic reform, while community workers have not been primarily interested in such preventive work as social legislation, governmental reform, and character building. The modern community movement is essentially an insistence upon the community as a social unit to be given first consideration in dealing with social problems. On the one hand, it may be regarded as a protest against the segmental attacks upon social ills by specialized agencies. From another point of view, it is an effort to preserve local autonomy threatened by the encroachments of standardized programs of state and national organizations. In all cases, however, its chief aim is to keep the interests of the whole community in the foreground. Its distinguishing feature is its emphasis on the community as the point of departure in determining policies of social reconstruction.

When subjected to this simple test, much that is now going on under the name of community work is found to be inadequate and ill in accord with its fundamental purpose. A community chest in actual practice may be little more than a money-raising device for the benefit of traditional social agencies, with very little power to adjust their budgets in accord with the best interests of the entire community. A group of delegates from selected agencies and institutions establish a community council, although in no real sense may they be thought of as representative of all the chief interests of the people. A central meeting place becomes known as a community center in spite of the fact that only certain groups find it convenient to make it their headquarters. A church interested in a social program advertises itself as a community church without freeing itself from the denominational traditions that make community-wide support impracticable. In these days it has become fashionable for specialized programs to appropriate the term "community" as an expression of their desire to gain a wider

constituency. A great deal of confusion about the community movement can be traced directly to programs of this kind which supposedly represent the community, but for one reason or another fail to work effectively in behalf of its interests.

A difficulty of another kind appears when we turn to that phase of the community movement which champions the cause of neighborhood reconstruction. Here there is no question of the sincerity of the programs undertaken, but they nevertheless encounter obstacles that seem to make success impracticable. This is true not merely of the discouraging efforts to build up neighborhood life in the midst of the disorganizing forces of great cities. In the open country also, in spite of its more simple social order, community solidarity is becoming more and more difficult of attainment. Improved means of transportation have brought in their train the disintegration of small communities and the breakdown of many promising schemes of rural organization.

The fundamental difficulty in the community movement inheres in the nature of the task itself. The community cannot easily be made the unit of social administration at a time when deep-seated forces are working toward its disintegration. The community movement, it might be said, was ushered in a generation too late. Or perhaps, a more accurate statement is that the modern community movement is a direct product of this conflict with the forces that are undermining the traditional position of the simple community of the past. Under the pressure of this conflict the older ideals of the community movement are undergoing rapid change. The back-to-the-neighborhood philosophy no longer can be given serious consideration, although many of the earlier group of the community leaders are still clinging to this illusive hope. Our eyes are now turned toward the outer world of larger contacts instead of seeking satisfaction within a narrow circle. We are not willing to obtain the old neighborhood values at the price of isolation. From the modern point of view, the most satisfying neighborhood is the one that has many inter-relationships with the outside world. The limited opportunities of the neighborhood and the small community with the provincialism and conservatism that

were the natural products of its restricted life make no appeal to the present generation.

Along with this urge for wider contacts is an insistent desire for association on a selective basis. A new era has arisen in which the fact of living side by side carries with it less necessity for intimate association than it did in the past. Communal responsibilities in which all must share are more and more carried out on an impersonal basis. The urgent need for intimate association and friendship tends to find its satisfaction in companionship secured over an increasingly wide territory. This does not make less necessary local centers where people can gather together for various purposes. The emphasis, however, is not upon a community center which must unite the people regardless of social status or congenial tastes. The modern world demands a variety of group relationships to which will be attracted like-minded people from all accessible places. This applies not merely to recreation and social intercourse, but to other phases of communal life as well. In this dynamic country with its traditions of freedom of thought and action, divisions into various groups are inevitable. Whether in politics, religion, education, or in civic and philanthropic activities, we insist on individual points of view and resolutely refuse to be regimented in any arbitrary manner in support of a stereotyped program or institution.

It has been this implied rigidity in the community movement, the assumption that people living in the same neighborhood should minimize individual differences in the interests of a unified program, that brings it into conflict with existing conditions. There is just enough truth in this older conception of the community movement to make it seem plausible and worthy of support. Many of the inescapable functions of society can be best attended to on a local community basis, and where division of effort is carried too far disorganization is an inevitable result. A satisfactory escape from this dilemma is not yet clearly apparent, but one way out may be found through recognition of the rôle of community inter-relationships as well as of community solidarity.

The new conception of the community is that it is a segment of a larger integrated unit. Under existing circumstances, the suc-

cessful operation of the older community ideal would be possible only in connection with a policy of segregation inconsistent with our social and political traditions. It might possibly have succeeded fifty years ago, but today with the open doors of the world before us we choose the alternative of wider association. The community movement of the future must adjust itself to changing conditions which involves the conception of a wider and more flexible unit inseparably interrelated with surrounding areas.

Attention should also be called to the fact that, in the administration of modern programs of social reconstruction, the trend is in the direction of the natural area as an ecological unit of great value. The distribution of people through the operation of such forces as land values, physical barriers, and cultural factors tends to build up within a city or rural region natural areas characterized by similar types of institutions and a similar outlook on life. These natural areas, in so far as they can be accurately defined and given general recognition, seem to give promise of greater usefulness than local neighborhoods or arbitrarily determined political districts not merely in analysis of the processes of community change and growth, but in facilitating the united action of the people in support of matters affecting their common interests.

Since the World War, much of the discussion of the community movement has centered around the field that is now generally known as community organization. Unfortunately, this latter term has been loosely used to include a large variety of programs and activities, and as a result there is little agreement as to its precise nature or its methods of procedure. This confusion does not merely grow out of the difficult nature of the problem of community organization nor out of disagreement as to the most suitable policies and programs. A more serious problem arises from the fact that much that is included under that name is nothing more than group organization masquerading under a different guise. This failure to distinguish group organization from the more fundamental problem of organizing the community has been to a large degree inevitable because both types of programs were in the early stages of the community movement regarded as closely identical. It has only been through a more accurate definition of the community and

an emphasis upon it as an ecological unit that their differentiation has appeared to be necessary or even possible. This confusion of terms has been unfortunate for it has prevented proper attention to group work technique and has retarded the adaptation of the community movement to present conditions.

If one excludes those quasi-community activities that really belong in the field of group organization, the most important phases of the community movement fall into two main fields, the correlation of social agencies at work within the community and the development of programs designed to promote community solidarity by building up activities in which all the people may participate. Perhaps it is in this first field of federation, which has been the device for dealing with the problem of the multiplicity of specialized agencies, that the community movement has made its farthest advance. The first efforts to bring order out of this chaotic situation took the form of a central council of social agencies which provided machinery for co-ordination to be administered by the members of the council on a voluntary basis. Later this developed into welfare federations with the added function of joint-finance, a form of organization that gained favorable recognition during the World War through experience with war chests. Under the name of community chests these financial federations of social agencies have increased rapidly in recent years and now are widely accepted means of unifying the social service activities of a city. During the early years of these community chests, which owe their rapid growth to the influence of business men rather than of social workers, the fear was frequently expressed that they would enable powerful financial interests to dominate social service policies. Others claimed that their successful growth would mean a dangerous centralization of power in the hands of a few people. Present experience seems to indicate that these fears were not well founded. On the contrary, these organizations have shown a surprising unwillingness to interfere with the *status quo* of existing social agencies. While there has been abundant evidence of the wastefulness of overlapping and inefficient agencies, the money-raising power of the community chest has been so intimately bound up with existing traditions and practices that its leaders have usu-

ally preferred not to take the risk of enforcing radical reorganization of social work activities. Outside of a few cities, it has been their weakness as a co-ordinating function rather than their strength that has been most plainly evident. Because of the constantly mounting budgets of their constituent agencies, their attention has necessarily been directed to the problems of developing a larger clientele of contributors. As far as the general public is concerned, the community chests are frequently thought of as an annual drive for funds, dominated by the ideals of the business world and characterized by such methods as strong emotional appeals, sensational advertising, heavy pressure upon individuals to contribute in accord with arbitrarily assigned quotas, and even efforts to bring into line the lower economic classes with the contribution of a day's wages to be deducted from their pay envelope. Their chief contribution, therefore, has been in the field of finance and business efficiency rather than co-ordination, and to the extent that they succeed, the private social agencies gain financial security and become more securely entrenched in complete control of the whole situation. While such a result has much to be said in its favor, this strengthening of the vested interests of private philanthropy may unduly retard the growing trend toward increased governmental assumption of responsibility in this field, thus postponing a much needed step in the reorganization of the social welfare programs of the community. One of the aims of the community movement must be a proper division of responsibility between private agencies and governmental departments, a problem to which the co-ordinating machinery of the community chest has as yet made very little contribution.

The principle of federation, however, has gained wide popularity and has come to be the accepted method of co-ordinating community programs. Centralized control through amalgamation of various agencies presents a more direct solution of the problem, but many objections are made to it on the ground that it runs counter to American democratic traditions. Social workers seem to have overlooked the drift toward centralization in other fields, the value of which is no longer questioned. In industry, business, government, and education, it has been found advantageous to

provide for a greater centralization of responsibility and control. Federation is a step in this direction, but its technique includes no device for reconciling widely divergent interests or unifying those who have no will to co-operate. This limitation inherent in the nature of federation narrows its field of operation to similar types of programs and makes impracticable the goal of a comprehensive community federation embracing all its interests. The principle of federation is now in favor because there is no widespread desire to organize the community in any unified way that would seriously encroach upon current practice. When the need for more effective unity becomes more deeply felt, federation will be forced to give way to some new plan better to achieve the desired results.

The other phase of the community movement, which may be termed the direct approach to community organization by means of activities and programs in which all the people are to participate, touches very closely the interests of the wider public and has made a strong appeal for popular support. Its programs, which have fallen largely in the field of leisure-time activities, are of group as well as community interest, and hence the effort to develop recreation on a distinctively community basis has led to considerable confusion. Its chief difficulty, however, as has already been mentioned, has come about through the gradual breakdown of community solidarity occasioned by the increasing number of social contacts outside the local community. While this tendency has not yet gone far enough to sound the death knell of community programs of this nature, it has weakened their appeal and is bringing about the necessity for a re-study of this phase of community organization from the point of view of intercommunity dependence and relationship. Recent beginnings in the promotion of regional studies point the way to an approach to this problem. With the inevitable widening of the unit of organization from the neighborhood to the region, the problems confronting the new community movement challenge the best efforts of its leaders.

In conclusion, may I state briefly the implication of this discussion for the future program of the National Community Center Association? This Association, which was established in 1916 by

a group of enthusiastic promoters of the school community center, has emphasized a phase of the community movement which at that time was not widely supported. During the twelve years of its history much progress has been made. Today, while school centers are by no means universally established, this plan of organization has gained wide acceptance. The National Education Association has made provision on its annual program for a discussion of school centers since 1918, and there is increasing evidence that school center programs will soon be regarded as a vital part of the educational system. At any rate, the pioneering period of the community center is a thing of the past. At the present time the interest of leaders in the community movement is shifting in a new direction. The broadening of our conception of community, a vision of the possibilities of intercommunity co-operation, and the necessity of adjusting community programs to the requirements of a period of great mobility, bring into the limelight new problems for which no solution is at hand. The papers read at the recent annual meetings of the National Community Center Association indicate that its leaders have been conscious of this new development and have been endeavoring to adjust its program to the changing situation. During this year, serious consideration was given to a proposed change of name of the Association, so that it would be more expressive of its new outlook and wider responsibilities. Such a step would not be a turning away from the past nor an abandonment of a goal only partially won. On the contrary, it would be a more adequate recognition of changing conditions that demand new programs and methods of procedure. If this Association would adopt such a title as the "National Association for Community and Regional Organization" with emphasis on studies and experiments in intercommunity as well as local community relationships and programs, it would more securely entrench itself in a strategic field in line with its past traditions and thereby strengthen its position of national leadership in the community movement.

DIVISION ON HUMAN ECOLOGY AND POPULATION

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT REGARDING HUMAN ECOLOGY AND POPULATION

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I wish to trace in the barest outlines the movement in sociology which has led up to the ecological approach to sociological study. Sociology as a science was conceived when Vico hit upon the idea of producing general social principles and laws by studying and generalizing the data of history and literature. But neither Vico nor the important group of philosophers of history who succeeded him really created an inductive science of sociology. They were still under the spell of the metaphysical concept of natural law, which placed the determination of events in the past and in the distant bowels of the universe, or perhaps in the matrix-mind of divinity. It was Comte who played midwife to a theory of inductive sociology, by insisting upon the determination of events by the interaction and interrelation of the events themselves, instead of by factors or forces (natural law) outside of the events. Thus he stated the formula for all inductive science and named it positivism.

The inductive method had already begun to be used in the older sciences, although it had not been labeled and set in opposition to the older methods before Comte's keen penetration of the significance of intellectual history enabled him to draw the strong contrast between the positivistic and metaphysical approaches. The method of Vico, in the hands of the philosophers of history, had failed to make good its promise of providing social laws and principles. Historical data were not adequate to such generalization.¹ Montesquieu had sought to remedy this defect by the intro-

¹ See Bernard, "The Development of Methods in Sociology," the *Monist*, April, 1928.

duction of geographic and climatic factors which he undertook with moderate success to generalize inductively. Buckle combined the methods of anthropogeography and the philosophy of history and elicited a great, if not a permanent, response.

But the death knell of a prioristic social thinking had already been sounded, and, interestingly enough, by the historians. They began to confine their attention to the collection, verification, and storing of facts, largely to the exclusion of their interpretation. All of the other social disciplines followed suit and began to place their main emphasis upon description and the historical method, which was for them a method of fact collection. But they found it difficult as interpreters of contemporary life to avoid some sort of generalization. This was especially true of sociology. It was never possible after the downfall of the philosophy of history to make of sociology a mere collection of historical data. From its dilemma it found two means of partial escape. One of these was generalization by analogy—especially by biological analogy—in which morass it floundered for nearly a generation.

The other escape was more logical and broke less definitely with the abstemious method of history. Sociology turned in the last third of the nineteenth century to ethnology for the materials it sought to use inductively. But this recourse was not satisfactory, partly because the results were not much more dependable than those provided by the philosophy of history, and partly because there was an insistent demand that sociology should provide an explanation of life as it is. Already in the eighties the theological schools began to introduce courses in social problems, and this content was merged early in the nineties with sociology. Along with the content often went the clerical teachers themselves. Their neo-Calvinistic and English-ethical traditions led them rigorously to exclude materialistic factors from their accounts of causes, and even the economic factors they looked upon with suspicion and annoyance. For nearly two decades practically the only mention of physical and economic environment as factors permitted to enter into any serious discussion of social maladjustment came through the scarcely respectable writings of the Italian criminologists.

For the most part sociological theory was almost equally unfriendly to taking cognizance of material environmental factors. Recognition of the physical environment was relegated to geography, and the recognition of economic factors was either dismissed as socialistic or materialistic interpretation or gladly abandoned to economics, which itself shied at too close contact with this field. With the exception of a few men like Sumner, the treatment of social processes was in terms of a neo-Hegelian or ethico-historical ideology. The philosophers and theologues in our camp were numerous. The rise of the French school of neo-Hegelian psychosociologists in the nineties tended to confirm our own indigenous ideological trend in sociology. Sociology itself came frequently to be defined in terms of psychic interaction among persons, the whole stage on which the action took place being left out of account—at least in theory. Of course, such an unrealistic sociology could not persist and it fell an easy victim, in its search to escape from a vacuum, to the instinct or biological deterministic interpretation, just as more than a generation before an earlier group of social thinkers, forbidden to generalize directly from insufficient data, had narcotized their imaginations with the biological analogy.

But the seed of a realistic or environmentalist interpretation of human nature and social processes were never lost during these years of the Babylonish captivity of sociology by the shades of Calvin and Hegel. Thomas, at Chicago, in his wide range of reading and interests, brought his students in contact with McGee and the environmental anthropologists. Sumner worked ahead with his subsistence theory of social origins. And above all, the historians, who in the first half of the nineteenth century, had led the way in the search for facts (which, however, carried the sociologists only as far as uncertain ethnological data), now began at the end of the century to return to nature. Turner and his school are as surely among the forerunners of the new sociology (I mean no offense to them) as are Comte and all the Germans Small lists in his most remarkable *Origins of Sociology*!

Sociology is today in the process of returning from a number of blind alleys, and it is still a bit dizzy. It is mostly back from its

ideological and instinctivist excursions. But the spirit of Hegel still lives, especially through the social mirages of Durkheim and the cultural determinists. In this last school the surviving influence of Hegel is strongest. A theory of culture which begins in culture and ends in culture, which knows no geography and can bear no environment except that inherited from the past or from some other place—and smothers even this under the term culture—is the latest refuge of the thwarted neo-Hegelian ideologists. The reason for this trend is, I think, easily found. Such a detached concept of culture is but another name for tradition. Thus the culture interpretation now so popular among sociologists is largely a new disguise for the old ideology and the worship of tradition.

Close aid to the “culture in a vacuum school” is the stratigraphic conception of science, which would lay down the subject matters and methodologies of the various sciences in layers, one above the other, somewhat after the manner of Comte’s famous classification. Advocates of this viewpoint apparently would not allow any of the technique or content of one science to trickle through the cement and tile partitions to another. According to this school of thought a good sociologist should blush to recognize neurons, endocrines, selection (natural or otherwise), climate, or topography and contour.

It is not strange, perhaps, that some of our more recently and less metaphysically trained sociologists should take a staff from the hands of the historians and venture to walk on profane ground. Perhaps it is also not strange that the revolt should have taken an organized form most conspicuously among some of the doctors of just that department where the shade of Hegel has wandered most persistently and where the stratigraphic concept is perhaps strongest. The new emphasis in sociology upon a realistic approach to its data and methodology is decidedly inductive and environmentalist in contrast to ideological.

The term human ecology is largely accidental and is indicative of (1) the dynamic character of its environmental realism, and (2) of the avenue of its escape from the old vacuum sociology of the ideologists, by analogy with the more dynamic work of the

plant ecologists. The name may or may not last; it may be fortunate or unfortunate. But the realistic approach itself is to the study of the contemporaneous facts and factors which are actually shaping and conditioning human social behavior in an everchanging environment, material and psychic, physical and social. The papers that follow represent a few of the trend along which this new dynamic realism is working out an analysis of the interrelations of man and his environmental controls.²

If no papers in the conventional field of population analysis appear on the program of this division this year it is not because no such studies are being made. Perhaps no other phase of sociological research is now so well financed. But most of these studies are strikingly static. They have not caught fully the spirit of the dynamic trend which lays emphasis upon the analysis of adjustment and changes of adjustment occurring along with changes in social equilibration. I shall not attempt to explain why the population studies have so seldom caught the dynamic impulse to study human and group adjustments which is so characteristic of the trend which calls itself human ecology. It may be because those who have planned or approved the studies have not caught the dynamic trend. Or it may be something else. But it is a satisfaction to observe in the new movement toward dynamic realism in sociology a promise of the fulfilment of Vico's conception and of Comte's formula for a science of society which should study actual facts of life inductively and from this study discover the social habits and organizations of men.

²Other realistic trends in twentieth-century sociology that have shared with human ecology in the task of replacing the nineteenth-century ideologies are the investigations in rural and urban sociology, public opinion, social organization and control, and population. At their best these subjects are not to be separated widely from what we call human ecology, except in so far as they dispense with the physical background as a conditioning factor.

TYPE OF AGRICULTURE AS A CONDITIONING FACTOR IN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

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ABSTRACT

Type of agriculture consists of the particular combination of plant and animal enterprises promoted on the farms of a given area. It is influenced by physical, biological, and social factors, and conditions community life in a number of ways. Some of the more important of these are density and mobility of the population, yearly and seasonal fluctuation in income, variation in seasonal distribution of labor demands, seasonal variations in the activity of organizations and certain institutions. Psychologically, certain attitudes appear to be correlated with certain types of agriculture, though they are by no means easy to delineate. Thus, the grain farmer appears to be more habituated to the use of large scale machinery, and lives a life of more speed and risk than the dairy farmer. Consequently grain-farming society appears to be more dynamic but less stable, more favorable to innovation but perhaps less likely to make it succeed, than dairy-farming society.

INTRODUCTORY

Type of agriculture may be defined as that particular combination of plant and animal enterprises which is promoted on a given farm or in a given area. Thus, the raising of corn and the production of pork are two farm enterprises which occur in combination over large areas of central United States and are known as the corn-hogs type of agriculture. Other types commonly spoken of are general as opposed to specialized farming, the latter including many varieties, such as small grain, dairy, cotton, small fruits, truck, etc.

The type of agriculture of a region evolves as a result of the interplay of several well-defined sets of factors which can only be listed here:¹ (1) Physical—soil character, temperature, length of growing season, precipitation, seasonal and yearly variation. (2)

¹ For discussion of these factors see W. J. Spillman, "Distribution of Types of Farming in the United States," *United States Department of Agriculture Farmers' Bulletin*, 1289, pp. 2-3; R. E. Willard and O. M. Fuller, "Type-of-Farming Areas in North Dakota," *North Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin*, 212, pp. 15-16. These authors do not recognize the habits and customs of the people as playing a part.

Biological—characteristics of plants which affect adaptation, prevalence and destructiveness of insect pests and fungous diseases. (3) Social—(a) economic—value per unit of product, distance and cost of transportation to market, competition with other producing regions; (b) habits and customs of the people—likes and dislikes of individuals, preferences of race and culture groups, degree to which agriculture is organized on a scientific basis.

Scientific attempts to understand type of agriculture as a variable factor in social behavior have been meager.² The geographers have studied the effects of the physical environment upon man but their methods and conclusions have been general and sweeping, although if the minute studies suggested by Brunhes³ were carried out, they should have some significance for the problem at hand. The scientific agriculturists and the agricultural economists are effectively showing how the type of agriculture is conditioned by the physical, biological, and economic factors previously mentioned,⁴ and the latter group are accurately describing the economic and business organization of these respective types of agriculture.⁵

² Professor Gillette appears to have been the first to set down from observation some of the probable community characteristics arising out of differences in type of agriculture. See *Constructive Rural Sociology*, chap. iv. Since that time some attention has been given to the subject in *Farm Income and Farm Life*, the joint report of the American Country Life Association and the American Farm Economic Association on the relation of social and economic factors in rural progress (by Spillman, Pond, Lively, and Kirkpatrick, chap. xi) and by J. M. Williams, *Expansion of Rural Life*, chap. xiii.

³ Jean Brunhes, *History and Prospects of the Social Sciences* (H. E. Barnes, Editor), p. 70.

⁴ Spillman, *op. cit.*, Willard and Fuller, *op. cit.* See also C. E. Baker, "A Graphic Summary of American Agriculture," separate from *Yearbook of Department of Agriculture*, 1921, No. 878; and W. A. Lloyd, J. I. Falconer, and C. E. Thorne, "The Agriculture of Ohio," *Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin*, No. 326. Especially Parts II and III. Many others could be cited.

⁵ The literature is too copious to cite in detail. See especially E. G. Misner, "Economic Studies of Dairy Farming in New York," *Cornell Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletins*, 441, 452, 455, and 462; G. A. Pond, "A Study of Dairy Farm Organization in Southeastern Minnesota," *Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station Technical Bulletin*, 44. P. E. McNall and L. S. Ellis, "Farm Costs and Practices in the Production of Walworth County Crops and Livestock," *Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station Research Bulletin*, 83; H. W. Hawthorne and H. M. Dixon, "Farm Organization and Management in Clinton County, Indiana," *United*

Considerable writing has been done by sociologists⁶ regarding the general effects of the farming occupation upon the farmer and his society, but the farming occupation as a whole is a broad one, composed of a great variety of types differing much among themselves, and the logic of the situation would appear to be that if work (occupation) is important in determining social organization, such diverse types as grain, dairy, cotton and truck, even though they all fall under the general occupation of agriculture, should produce noticeable differences in the social organization. It is with this problem that we are herein concerned.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The materials upon which this paper is based were drawn chiefly from a study of two type communities⁷ selected for the purpose in Minnesota and Wisconsin. The communities were selected, one to represent small grain-farming and one dairy-farming, on as pure a basis as could readily be found. Care was taken to eliminate as many complicating factors as possible through selection.

The general method of study was that of (1) logical analysis, based upon abundant experience with farm life in general and with the type communities in particular, of the relationships which appeared to exist between the various aspects of community life and

States Department of Agriculture, Department Bulletin, No. 1258; Albert Mighell, "A Study of the Organization and Management of Dairy Farms in Northeastern Iowa," *Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin*, 243; J. I. Falconer and J. F. Dowler, "Variations in Costs of Producing Corn, Wheat and Other Crops in Greene County, Ohio," *Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin*, 396.

⁶ C. J. Galpin, *Rural Life*, chaps. i and ii; C. C. Taylor, *Rural Sociology*, chaps. xxi, pp. 50-54; H. B. Hawthorn, *The Sociology of Rural Society*, chaps. x, xiii, and xiv; J. M. Williams, *Our Rural Heritage*, also *The Expansion of Rural Life* (being an economic interpretationist, Dr. Williams emphasizes this relationship throughout both volumes); L. L. Bernard, "A Theory of Rural Attitudes," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXII, pp. 630-49. J. M. Gillette, *Rural Sociology* (1928 ed.), chap. iv, pp. 66-67.

⁷ These communities were Fisher, Polk County, Minnesota, small grain, and Prairie Farm, Barron County, Wisconsin, dairying; a third community representing potato culture was studied but, as the type proved to be less pure than at first was supposed, the materials are not used in this paper. The study was financed in part by the University of Minnesota and in part by the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life of the United States Department of Agriculture.

the physical- and biological-occupational complex called type of agriculture; (2) collection of all sorts of objective materials bearing upon the truth or falsity of these supposed relationships; and (3) checking these results as far as possible by materials drawn from the published reports of the United States Census and other studies not directly intended as a solution of this problem.⁸

RESULTS

Population.—One of the most evident differences in the population of areas of grain-farming and areas of dairy-farming is density. This difference in density is determined principally by two factors, (1) size of farm and (2) number of persons per farm. Thus, taking for comparison ten typical grain counties⁹ and ten typical dairy counties,¹⁰ one finds that the average size of farm in the ten grain counties in 1925 was 369.8 acres, and the average number of persons per farm was 4.8. The corresponding figures for the ten dairy counties were 110.6 acres and 4.4 persons. Hence, the density of farm population in the ten grain counties was 8.3 persons and in the ten dairy counties 25.6 persons, assuming 100 per cent of the land in farms in both cases. The slightly higher percentage of land in farms in the grain counties scarcely affects the ratio. Evidently, when in dairy-farming areas, we may look for smaller farms, fewer persons per farm, and a density of farm population which varies from about the equal of that of the more intensive grain areas to about three times that of the more extensive grain areas. Many aspects of social organization are conditioned by density of population. Grain farmers must travel farther to meet face to face, organizations and institutions must cover more territory or suffer from lack of support, and often the population is too sparse to obtain the common utilities which all desire.

⁸ The method is subject to at least two important criticisms. It requires a high degree of investigative skill and it is easily subject to bias. Since the subject is in no sense a controversial one and since no agency with a point of view to uphold was represented, it is believed that bias in this study was reduced to a fair minimum.

⁹ Six in North Dakota, two in Minnesota, one in South Dakota, and one in Ohio.

¹⁰ Eight in Wisconsin, one in Minnesota, and one in Ohio.

Not only are the farms in the grain areas larger than in the dairy sections, but the number of persons per farm is greater also. In so far as figures are available this difference is marked for the areas studied.¹¹ Some part of this difference is apparently due to the larger number of farm laborers employed in the grain areas,¹² and in so far as this factor affects the number of persons per farm, this difference between the grain and dairy sections may be related to type of agriculture. The chief explanation of the difference in number of persons per farm, however, seems to be difference in birth-rate,¹³ and although this factor may possibly be related to type of agriculture, this paper presents no evidence to that effect.

It is not clear to what extent such population characteristics as sex proportions and age distribution are related to type of agriculture. There was uniformly a greater surplus of males in the grain areas studied than in the dairy sections (the ten grain counties averaged 123.1 males per 100 females over ten years of age, and the ten dairy counties averaged 115.9). Some part of this difference is doubtless due to differences in sex proportions among the farm-laborer population,¹⁴ and in so far as this is true the fact bears a definite relation to type of agriculture. Beyond this it is difficult to go. The comparative migration to and from these type of farming areas, and its effects upon the sex proportions and age distribution of the populations cannot be carefully studied until there is available a better assemblage of statistical materials than we now possess.

¹¹ The averages are 4.8 and 4.4 persons for the ten pairs of counties studied.

¹² In the sample communities 81 per cent of the grain farmers and 39 per cent of the dairy farmers employed some labor. Census tabulations for Cass County, North Dakota, and Dane County, Wisconsin, showed more laborers in the former county. See L. E. Truesdell, *Farm Population of the United States* (1920), pp. 350, 431.

¹³ The fact that the grain sections represent more nearly frontier conditions than the dairy sections gives them a more dynamic population. In our ten pairs of check counties, the grain group had an average birth-rate of 45.0 per 1,000 females in 1924, assuming the sex proportions of 1920, while the dairy group had an average rate of 39.8. There was a higher percentage of the farm population under ten years of age (26.6) in the grain group than in the dairy group (22.8). In our sample communities the grain-farm operators averaged 45.7 years of age and in the dairy community 40.1 years of age.

¹⁴ Cf., Truesdell, *op. cit.*, pp. 351-52; 432-33.

Available data seem to make it clear, however, that the grain-farming population is a more mobile population than the dairy-farming population. It is well known that tenants move more often than owners. It is also believed that tenants unrelated to the landlords move more often than related tenants. Tenancy in the grain sections averages from 7 to 10 per cent higher than in the dairy sections, and the tenants are less often related to the landlords. In the sample communities studied, where the tenancy difference was slightly above the average, 32.6 per cent of the farm families of the grain community had lived on the same farm less than five years, while in the dairy community the corresponding figure was only 19.9 per cent. In the grain community only 34.9 per cent of the families had lived on the same farm fifteen years or more while in the latter 58.6 per cent had been that long on the same farm. The two communities were approximately the same age. It need only be stated here that this difference in mobility of the population has important effects upon the stability of the community organization.¹⁵

Statements are sometimes made to the effect that certain types of farming require more intelligence than others.¹⁶ In the sample communities, although the products produced differed somewhat in kind, the number was approximately the same, and the methods of marketing them were in each case simple and local as far as the farmer was concerned, and did not indicate superior agricultural intelligence on the part of either group.

Only certain indirect measures of the intelligence of the people of the areas studied are available. So far as the areas studied are concerned school attendance is generally better in the grain than in the dairy sections.¹⁷ But this may be merely a reflection of differ-

¹⁵ Cf. N. L. Sims, *Elements of Rural Sociology*, p. 118.

¹⁶ J. M. Williams, *The Expansion of Rural Life*, pp. 135-40, argues that fruit growers are more intelligent than dairymen. W. J. Spillman, writing in *Farm Income and Farm Life* (E. D. Sanderson, editor), p. 195, agrees as to the high intelligence of fruit growers. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 142, places the grain farmer somewhat below those of other types in intelligence.

¹⁷ Compare with census figures the minute analysis of the farm population of Cass County, North Dakota, and Dane County, Wisconsin, in "Farm Population of Selected Counties," *Special Report of the United States Census*, by C. J. Galpin and Veda B. Larson, pp. 59, 140. Our sample grain community offered superior schooling.

ence in degree of consolidation, for consolidation generally results in better attendance,¹⁸ and less retardation. In the sample communities the schooling of adults above school age slightly favored the grain community, while in the matter of home reading materials available the grain community possessed fewer books but more and better assorted periodical literature than the dairy community. As far as our meager evidence goes, it does not support the theory that grain farmers are inferior in intelligence.

Economic Conditions.—The typical grain farm which we have here under consideration is a farm of 275 to 300 acres, of which 166 acres are in small grain (spring wheat, oats, barley, and rye) and 27 acres are in other crops, including corn, potatoes, hay, millet, etc. There are 11 head of cattle, 8 horses and 2 hogs. In about 70 per cent of the cases the operator is an owner. At least one-third of the owners rent additional land, but virtually no owner rents out land. This is made possible by the large percentage of land with uninhabitable buildings, or none, which is owned by absentee landlords.

Correspondingly, the typical dairy farm under consideration is a farm of 75 to 125 acres of which 15 acres are in small grain, 20 acres are in other crops including hay, and 30 acres are in pasture. Fourteen milk cows constitute the dairy. The operators are, almost 100 per cent, owners and very few rent additional land.

The average grain farm as here described represents an investment of about \$25,000 while the dairy farm represents an investment of about \$18,000, the latter having a smaller percentage of the total capital in land than the former.

Because small grain lends itself so well to machine methods of production, the grain areas possess much machinery. It is not possible to say what fraction of the total labor is accomplished by machinery, but our grain community possessed more power machinery and more large scale machinery per farm than our dairy community.¹⁹

¹⁸ Cf., E. A. Willson, "Social Organizations and Agencies in North Dakota," *North Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin*, No. 221, pp. 19-23.

¹⁹ At the time of this study the tractor had not yet come into general use although it was more common in the grain than in the dairy community. The grain community also owned and used the gas engine more extensively than the dairy community, though it was seldom used to operate household conveniences.

Apparently it has never been demonstrated (and probably never will be) that any given type of agriculture is in the long run and under all conditions more profitable than any other type. Farmers in the same community, and under outwardly similar conditions often make widely different incomes during the same year. Various studies²⁰ have showed grain-farming and dairy-farming to be no exceptions to this rule. Such studies as have been made of the household expenditure budgets of grain and dairy farmers do not indicate that either may be considered inferior to the other in regard to amounts spent for family living.²¹

From the data at hand, it appears to be clear that there exists greater variation in the income of the grain farmer than in the income of the dairy farmer. As to the question of seasonal variation, there can be no doubt but that the grain community experiences a season of plenty in the fall and early winter when the crop is sold and a season of pinch in the late spring and summer when all resources available are bent to the production of another crop—a variation which the dairy community with its more evenly distributed financial return never experiences. A study²² of the monthly distribution over a period of years of the loans and discounts of banks in these respective communities discloses a seasonal rhythm of financial stress and easy money in the grain areas which is unknown in the dairy sections.²³ Great difficulty is often experienced

²⁰ Of special significance in this connection are E. L. Kirkpatrick, "Annual Family Living in Selected Farm Homes of North Dakota," *United States Department of Agriculture*, Bureau of Agricultural Economics (mimeograph, 1928). Mumford, Sallee, and Pond, *Farm Accounting Route at Crookston, Polk County, Minnesota*, (preliminary report for 1927), University of Minnesota (mimeograph 1928). McNall and Ellis, *op. cit.*; E. G. Misner, *op. cit.*; F. L. Morison, "Dairy and Other Livestock Production Costs in Medina County, Ohio," *Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin*, No. 424.

²¹ E. L. Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*; Mumford, Sallee, and Pond, *op. cit.*; E. L. Kirkpatrick and A. T. Hoverstad, "Family Living in Twenty-Five Farm Homes of Askov, Pine County, Minnesota," *United States Department of Agriculture Bureau of Agricultural Economics* (mimeograph, 1927).

²² Space will hardly permit the reproduction of the tables and graphs upon which this statement is based.

²³ Cf., V. M. Valgren and E. E. Englebert, "Bank Loans to Farmers on Personal and Collateral Security," *United States Department of Agriculture Bulletin*, No. 1048, pp. 4-6, 24. The section graphs, pp. 4-6, are not made according to

by grain farmers in obtaining sufficient funds to finance the crop and to bear living expenses during the growing season, while the financial agencies use care in attempting to apportion their resources throughout the community so as to relieve all. These heavy credit demands coupled with the uncertainty of the crop success have resulted in the ruin of large numbers of both farmers and local banks.²⁴

But while it seems clear that the seasonal variation in income is greater in grain-farming than in dairying, it is more difficult to establish that the yearly variation in income is also greater. It is difficult to compare income variation on this point because of the numerous incidental uncontrolled factors which may influence such comparison. Such comparisons as we have been able to make, however, point to greater yearly variation in the grain farmers' income. Two other lines of evidence point in the same direction; one of these is the market price of grain and dairy products and the other is yearly variation in production. Over a period of time the price of wheat and barley appears to be subject to greater yearly variation than the price of milk and butter.²⁵ Furthermore, the yearly production of milk per cow on dairy farms is subject to only moderate variation²⁶ while the yield of wheat in the wheat belt is subject to marked variation.²⁷ These yearly and seasonal fluctuations in income in the grain areas have important bearing upon the social life of the people. Financial insecurity and uncertain prospects results in an intensity of behavior and a willingness to take risk which is

type of agriculture but the interest rates charged in the various states indicate something of the demand for loans and the risks taken.

²⁴ In time of economic crisis this condition may become very acute. See G. F. Warren and F. A. Pearson, *The Agricultural Situation*, pp. 113-15.

²⁵ Warren and Pearson, *op. cit.*, chap. xi and xv.

²⁶ F. L. Morison, *op. cit.*, p. 8. For five year period ending 1924, the production per cow on 15 farms showed an average deviation of only 5.7 per cent.

²⁷ R. E. Willard and O. M. Fuller, *op. cit.*, p. 161. The coefficient of variability for the yield of wheat in North Dakota, 1911-26 was .45. The Red River Valley in which our sample community is located showed somewhat less than this. The yield of wheat in North Dakota, 1909-23, showed an average deviation of 30 per cent. Computed from Warren and Pearson, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

pregnant with possible consequences for the weal and woe of the community.²⁸

There is every reason to believe that these yearly and seasonal variations of the business cycle, as they are manifested in rural communities, are productive of social consequences in rural as well as in urban society. Some noteworthy attempts have been made toward understanding these consequences in society at large²⁹ and it is to be hoped that students of rural life will find it possible to study the question as applied to rural society in particular.

Labor Distribution and its Relation to Community Life.—From the standpoint of community life the labor requirements of the prevailing agriculture are of great importance because they control, for the most part, the conditions under which the labor shall be performed and also the extent and distribution of leisure time.

The typical labor cycle on the grain farms is a rush season during the early spring planting which lasts until June. The month of June is slack and recreational and social events are common. July to September are the months of harvest and threshing, and if fall plowing is done, the rush lasts until November. During this period the length of the work day is extended to the limit, the whole family helps and no one goes to town except for supplies. Even the village helps. Those who can, work in the fields and the shopkeepers alter their hours to suit the convenience of the farmers. Some organizations hold fewer meetings and others are poorly attended. But with the coming of late fall the whole community settles back to rest and leisure, with abundance of time for non-vocational activities until the following spring.

With such peak labor demands, only 35 per cent³⁰ of which can be supplied by the family and regular labor supply, the farmer casts about frantically for extra help. He combs the villages and towns taking whomsoever will go, but 40 per cent³¹ of his harvest help is

²⁸ Cf., Warren and Pearson, *op. cit.*, pp. 110 ff.

²⁹ See D. S. Thomas, *The Social Aspects of the Business Cycle*.

³⁰ D. D. Lescohier, "Conditions Affecting the Demand for Harvest Labor in the Wheat Belt," *United States Department of Agriculture Department Bulletin*, No. 1230, p. 6.

³¹ *Ibid.*

supplied by the army of transients who follow the grain harvests. Some of these are hoboes who dislike work, but although the general impression prevails that most of these workers are hoboes, they are in fact industrious workers for the most part, though they come from all walks of life.³² The entertainment of this army of workers for two or three weeks, workers who range from the confirmed hobo to the college student, feeding them at the family table and sleeping them in the family dwelling³³ has important social results for the farm family, and for the community at large. For not only is the extent of group labor increased thereby, but these workers bring to the community new ideas and new behavior patterns some of which are at distinct variance with the accepted patterns of the community.

The peak labor demands of grain farming are also responsible for considerable child labor. Space will not permit any detailed discussion, but it appears that the effort to plant and save the crop results in the use of small children, especially for driving teams and machinery, and that not only is schooling at times seriously interfered with but the accident rate, particularly in plowing is high.³⁴ Although it can hardly be said that the standards of child welfare in the grain community are lower than in the dairy community, the labor necessity and the machine methods employed often makes the hazard to child life and welfare pretty high.

The dairy communities are spared all this rush and flurry. With smaller farms and smaller crop acreages, the most important single labor demand is that of livestock and that is quite evenly distributed. At a moderate pace the people work and play the year round, with ever a little time to spare, but never much. The family falls more readily into a routine, they hire less labor, the family supplying a far larger proportion of the whole, and they come in contact with no transient class. Children probably do just as much work, but it is more likely to be heavy hand labor and less likely to be with

³² D. D. Lescohier, "Hands and Tools of the Wheat Harvest," *Survey*, L, 381, 411-12.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ "Child Labor in North Dakota," United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Publication No. 129, pp. 36-40.

dangerous machinery. The grain farmers hire help, exchange labor, and work in groups throughout a fair proportion of the harvest season, while the dairy farmers, relying upon their families to care for their small harvests, work less with people outside the family group while the women and children are commonly called upon to labor in the fields, tend the garden, do the milking, and help with the chores.

Two studies⁸⁵ show the distribution of man-labor hours by ten day periods throughout the year on a typical North Dakota grain farm and a typical Wisconsin dairy farm. On the grain farm the average deviation from the mean is equal to 105 per cent of the mean; on the dairy farm the average deviation is equal to 26 per cent of the mean. Thus, on the grain farm the variation in labor distribution is four times as great as on the dairy farm.

Communication.—The type of agriculture may be indirectly related to the development of means of communication through being correlated with natural conditions which make communication easy or difficult. The small grain belt, located on a flat open plain with comparatively light rainfall, offers greater natural advantages for direct communication than most dairy sections where rolling topography or even wooded hills with considerable rainfall is more nearly the rule. It is less expensive to build passable roads on the open plain, for there the improved dirt road is as satisfactory as the gravel road in regions where the rainfall is heavier and the land more rolling. Hence, while the 1925 census of agriculture indicates that in the ten grain counties studied 84.6 per cent of the farmers lived on dirt roads and in the ten dairy counties only 46.9 per cent lived on dirt roads, it must not be concluded that the dairy farmers have correspondingly better communication. Grain farmers are at least as well supplied with automobiles as the dairymen and they use them extensively. Study of the sample communities indicates that the grain farmer goes to town oftener than the dairy farmer both in summer and in winter. His long slack periods and his comparative freedom from chores enables him to go readily while the

⁸⁵ W. J. Spillman, "Seasonal Distribution of Labor on the Farm," *United States Department of Agriculture Yearbook* (1911), p. 278; L. A. Moorhouse and O. A. Juve, "Labor and Material Requirements of Field Crops," *United States Department of Agriculture Bulletin*, No. 1000, p. 56.

dairy farmer is more likely to become habituated to staying close to the farm, particularly if his dairy products are taken at his door as they frequently are.

The type of agriculture is more or less directly related to the nature and extent of the market contacts of the people, however, and these market contacts are often fruitful sources of communicative content.

In the sample communities studied, there were only slight sociological differences in the methods of marketing grain and dairy products. In both cases the market contacts of the producers, especially, were virtually limited to the small village center, though the grain farmers were required to visit the center oftener than the dairy farmers. Each community possessed its successful co-operative organization but they were very similarly organized and controlled. With respect to both the intra-community and extra-community contacts for the marketing of agricultural products, it was similarities rather than differences which impressed the student.

In the matter of purchasing supplies, however, one notices greater differences, and here again the geographical factors with which grain-farming is correlated appear to be responsible. On the open plain the small neighborhood centers and country stores are more quickly thrown into competition with larger and more distant centers as better means of communication become available. These buying centers consequently decline and the farmer more and more does his purchasing in the larger centers. While it is almost inconceivable that these new purchasing contacts will not lead to new selling contacts as well, the latter do appear to develop a little more slowly.

On the other hand, in the dairy sections studied, the small centers were better able to survive and a larger proportion of the community purchasing was done where the range of choices was decidedly limited.

Institutions and Organizations.—The influence of the prevailing type of agriculture upon the institutions of the community is rather difficult to determine. Differences exist but to what extent the changes have been influenced by type of agriculture and to what extent they are the function of the stream of cultural tradition flow-

ing along somewhat apart from occupational influences is problematical. Thus the one-room schools of both sample communities were traditional and, therefore, quite similar in all respects, though those of the grain section possessed the smaller average enrollment and a lower average attendance. But the dairy community possessed but a single high-school grade while the grain community had recently consolidated the township, built an \$80,000 school plant and expanded its two-year high school into four-year high school with a vocational curriculum, a gymnasium with a recreational schedule for the community, cafeteria, adult short courses, and so on. The immediate influence in obtaining this school was the energetic principal who had given up a law course to carry out the program, but he worked under the direction of a board of farmers and it is difficult to see how he could have succeeded had not the Board and also the people been favorably disposed toward better education.

The churches, although quite traditional in their organization and programs in both communities, were somewhat superior in the grain community. There was less overchurching, less interchurch competition, and the ministers were of a higher caliber and received better salaries. Indeed there was a mild attempt at church consolidation in the case of two Norwegian Lutheran churches under the same pastor which had agreed to federate for a year as a trial experiment. The result was better interest, larger attendance, and more auxiliary activities than in the dairy community. There was no tendency in either community, however, for the churches to cater to the occupational needs of the people or to fit their program to the seasonal stresses and variations of agriculture.

Psychological Influence.—Whether because of the differences in spatial relationships, certainty of income and labor demands or because of occupational selection, cultural history, the student finds certain psychological characteristics which seem to be correlated with grain-farming and certain others which appear to be correlated with dairy-farming.

The grain farmer may be characterized as a machine farmer. So far as farm operations are concerned, he thinks in terms of large acreages mechanically operated. He knows machinery, he sets it

up, operates it, repairs it, and rarely calls upon an expert. He believes in reducing hand labor to a minimum. He owns more machinery than the dairy farmer who has less need for it. He plunges into his task, does it in a hurry in a big way and has it over. The dairy farmer, with his small acreages, has his chief interest centered in his herd. The feeding and choring must be done daily, bit by bit and, though his barn may contain conveniences, much hand labor usually results.

The grain farmer lives a life of greater uncertainty, of less economic security, than the dairy farmer and is consequently more subject to variations of mood. His entire yearly stake is in his crop of grain the success of which depends upon weather, storms, pests—factors beyond his immediate control. As he watches his crop grow his interest mounts and his plans soar. Two years ago he was hailed out; last year he was drowned out. "If my wheat makes 15 bushels this year, I'll build a new barn," he says. And then just before cutting time the black rust comes, and some of it won't pay for the threshing. So he swallows his disappointment and vows he will plant a greater acreage next year.

This system of rentals, risks, loans, mortgages, successes, failures, brings a series of disappointments which often results in cynicism, radicalism, and impulsive gestures at organization, which may be forgotten the following year if the crop is good, but which, if continued, may become the basis of relatively permanent farmers' movements. More commonly, however, the farmer wages his battle with the economic order by using the methods he knows best: curtailment of buying, harder work, less conveniences, more frugal habits of living. And so he says, "I have no time for social life in the summer and in winter I can't afford it."

By contrast the dairy farmer lives a life of greater economic security and uniformity. His income may be less than the grain farmer receives for a successful year, but it is comparatively certain. There is little hunger for more land and consequently fewer rentals and mortgages. The chief aim is to care for the herd and make it produce well. And this economic security extends proportionally to large and small farmers. The small amount of land required and the certainty of income from the cow enables a class of small farm-

ers to live, providing a variation in economic classes which is impossible in the grain sections.

The dairy farmer also lives a more uniform existence, a life less marked by the extremes of behavior found among the grain farmers. Dairying is not a seasonal enterprise and successful dairying requires a careful schedule of operations. The farmer spends shorter hours in the field, does his milking and chores on schedule and, though uniformly busy, he is not called upon to meet sharp extremes of either work or leisure.

Two important results arise from these factors of economic security and uniformity of schedule in the dairy community. One of these is the slower tempo of community life generally and the other is an attitude of quiet thrift and reasonable content. The grain farmer is pushed to the limit during the rush season. He works day and night, even Sundays, and rushes to town for supplies or repairs. This slower tempo of the dairy farmer coupled with his greater economic security gives him a more evident air of contentment than the grain farmer. To be sure he complains somewhat.

The grain community is perhaps more dynamic than the dairy community (certainly it is less stable). The population is less stable, there is greater variation in economic conditions, life is less of a scheduled routine, and psychologically the people appear to be more favorable to innovation. But its history of formal organization shows many failures and suggests that although innovation may be more easily begun it is less likely to succeed than in the more evenly tempered dairy community.

Finally, it should be remembered that the type of agriculture is merely a conditioning factor in the organization of rural community life. There is no disposition to portray it as a major controlling element. The student can hardly help being impressed by the fact that the institutions, organizations, and behavior patterns of the people of any rural community are powerfully influenced by the social heritage of the past, a stream flowing more or less independently of such contemporary influences as type of farming. Nevertheless, as the age of the community increases, it is inconceivable that this stream will not gradually yield in some measure to the constant influence of this biophysical and economic complex called type of agriculture.

COTTON CULTURE AND SOCIAL LIFE AND INSTITUTIONS OF THE SOUTH

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ABSTRACT

Factors of soil and climate, the presence of cheap labor, and the world's demand for a cheap fabric have peculiarly conditioned social life in the American South to the demands of the cotton plant. The routines of southern rural life are fitted to the cycles of cotton planting, chopping, picking, and marketing. One may speak of a cotton-culture complex. Food habits, family labor in the field, speculation, exclusive devotion to the one crop system, non-co-operation, and lack of thrift are attitudes and modes of behavior growing out of cotton culture.

The spatial and temporal distribution of the activities of man as conditioned by the environment is coming to be regarded as the especial study of human ecology.¹ Instead of a crude geographic determinism, the point of view taken by human ecology is that of an adjustment of previously existing cultures to such factors of natural environment as climate, soil, land forms, and societies of plants and animals.² In the American South it is possible to trace the adjustment of culture to the demands of the cotton plant.

R. Mukerjee writes:³

Wherever man depends upon agriculture and has found a permanent abode, the growing of different staple crops such as rice, wheat, or Indian corn, and the rearing of different domestic animals, selected from among the native stock of a region, govern not merely man's interests and habits but also his social organization.

Nature's harmony of the soil, the rainfall, the frostless season, and the flaming sun has fitted well with a transplanted tropic plant, a transplanted tropic race, landless white farmers, and the slow but

¹ Robert E. Park (editor), *The City* (Chicago, 1925), pp. 63-64, chapter iii by R. D. McKenzie.

² H. H. Barrows, "Geography as Human Ecology," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, XIII (1923), 4.

³ R. Mukerjee, *Regional Sociology* (New York, 1926), p. vi.

all surviving mule to make the American South a distinctive region, the Cotton Belt. In less than 3 per cent of the world's land area, Professor O. E. Baker⁴ has estimated 60 per cent of the world's cotton supply is grown. In this area 42 per cent of the crop land was in cotton in 1919 and the value of the cotton crop was equal to the value of all other crops combined.⁵ In the terms of the student of anthropology we may regard this highly specialized agricultural region, the Cotton Belt, as a culture area⁶ and speak of the cotton-culture complex. The plantation, cotton tenancy, seasonal routines, food habits, family labor, attitudes of speculation, shiftlessness, and mobility, for the purpose of this paper, may be considered as culture traits surrounding the cultivation of cotton. With respect to these traits the one-horse cotton farmers are more nearly standardized.

Historically cotton culture conditioned the development of the South through the plantation system. The production by means of routine methods, applied to unskilled labor of a staple from which the plantation could not escape has tended to set the mode by which human factors in southern agriculture shall be regulated. Robert E. Park⁷ has well said:

The history of slavery in America is an incident in the history of the plantation system. . . . Slavery has disappeared, to be sure, but the plantation system in one form or another remains, not merely in the South but in many parts of the world. The abolition movement when seen in its proper perspective is merely an episode in the history of a particular type of industrial organization.

"Its concentration of labor under skilled management," writes Ulrich B. Phillips,⁸ "made the plantation system with its overseers, foremen, blacksmiths, carpenters, hostlers, cooks, nurses, plow-hands, and hoe-hands, practically the factory system applied to agriculture." The change from the cotton plantation to cotton ten-

⁴ O. E. Baker, "Agricultural Regions of North America," Part II, "The South," *Economic Geography*, January, 1927, p. 65.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 77, 79.

⁶ Clark Wissler, "The Concept of the Culture Area as a Research Lead," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXII, 881-91.

⁷ *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIII (1927), 290-91.

⁸ "Decadence of the Plantation," *The Annals*, XXXV (1910), 37.

ancy gave the agricultural worker mobility, legal freedom of contract, and wages or a share of the crop in return for his work. It brought the landless southern white man within the cotton system, created share tenancy and cotton cropping, a system whereby labor is secured "without wages and loans are made without security." The Census of 1900 showed that of all farmers to whom cotton offered the chief source of income, 67.7 were tenants.⁹ By 1910, although Negro farmers cultivated 52 per cent of the total cotton acreage, the white farmers produced 67 per cent of the total crop.¹⁰ In cotton-growing areas in ten southern states in 1920, 55 out of every 100 farmers were tenants, and out of every hundred cotton renters 21 were cash renters, 37 were croppers, and 42 were share tenants.¹¹

The effect of the seasonal cycle of the cotton plant is shown in the social routine of the people. The periods of slack work come in midsummer—July and August—and in midwinter—December and January. After cotton is laid by in July and August summer terms of school are held in many places, and rural people attend protracted revival services. One cotton planter¹² writes of the practice. "It seems sensible to me. Cotton anyway must be grown by a series of spurts rather than by a steady daily grind." During the hot season "about the best thing for croppers to do is to quit work, visit around and attend the protracted meeting. Then if they haven't killed each other *ad interim* they are physically fit when the rush of cotton picking begins." Cotton picking mobilizes all the available cheap manual labor in the South. This unmechanized process takes the cooks, maids, roustabouts, idlers and men-of-all-work out of the southern towns, mothers out of the homes, and children out of school. In many places the country schools close until the harvest is gathered. The amount of the farmer's time required to

⁹ United States Census Monograph IV, *Farm Tenancy in the United States*, 1920, p. 33.

¹⁰ United States Census Monograph, *Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1918*, pp. 594-96.

¹¹ Rupert B. Vance, *Human Factors in Cotton Culture*, MS. Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina (1928), p. 77.

¹² Alfred G. Smith, "The Cropper System," *Country Gentleman*, September 4, 1920.

pick an acre of cotton would, it is estimated by the Department of Agriculture, produce three acres of corn in Iowa or four acres of wheat in Kansas.¹³ H. C. Brearley¹⁴ found in a study of 1,601 homicides in South Carolina from 1920-24 that:

months of high homicide rates concur rather closely with the seasons of little farming activity, with one peak coming during the winter vacation and the other during the midsummer lay-by and camp meeting time. Two of the three months of least homicides, May and October, are also the months when farm labor is most busy.

Among the most obvious of the material culture traits associated with cotton are the food habits of its growers. The immense amount of man labor in planting, chopping, and picking cotton comes at times which interfere with the cultivation of other southern crops. Consequently, the family on the one-horse cotton farm has been "driven by compulsion to the most efficient of all the food-stuffs that can be made to suffice."¹⁵ Corn is suited to the southern climate, and is an efficient producer of cereal carbohydrates. A dietary survey conducted during the war found that the maize kernel constituted 23 per cent of the total food intake of Tennessee and Georgia mountaineers, 32.5 per cent of that of southern Negroes, but only 1.6 per cent of the diet of 72 northern families in comfortable circumstances.¹⁶ Hogs thrive on corn and, since they complete their growth in one season, may be regarded as comparatively efficient producers of strong meat. In fact, H. P. Armsby has estimated that about 24 per cent of the energy of grain is recovered for human consumption in pork as compared with about 18 per cent in milk and 3.5 per cent in beef and mutton.¹⁷ The cheaper cuts of

¹³ "Seedtime and Harvest," *United States Department of Agriculture, Circular* 183 (1922), p. 39.

¹⁴ *Homicides in South Carolina, 1920-1924*, an unpublished study, University of North Carolina (1928), p. 22. South Carolina had a population 82.5 per cent rural in 1919.

¹⁵ W. J. Spillman, in *Farm Income and Farm Life*, edited by Dwight Sanderson (Chicago, 1927), chap. xi, p. 194.

¹⁶ "Food and the War," *United States Food Administration* (New York, 1918), cited in E. V. McCollum, *The Newer Knowledge of Nutrition* (New York, 1922), p. 128.

¹⁷ "Roast Pig," *Science* (1917), XLVI, 160.

fat pork, salt cured, become the year round staple of diet. Surveys have shown that pork often amounts to 40 per cent of the value of all articles of food consumed by southern farmers.¹⁸ Sorghum and sugar cane are eminently suited to the southern climate and produce, without demanding too much labor, a food of high sugar content.

Thus it comes about that the Negro cropper, the white tenant, and the small cotton farmer live upon a basic diet of salt fat pork, corn bread, and molasses. This forms the "three M diet," meat, meal, and molasses, noted by Dr. Joseph Goldberger¹⁹ of the United States Health Service as pellagra producing when made up in conventional proportions. When cotton farmers purchase food, these are the articles of diet they purchase; first, because all three are cheap, and second, because food likes and dislikes come to be matters of habit imposed by culture. Exclusive reliance on this diet impairs health and economic efficiency, and thus may serve to cement the cotton farmer closer to his basic diet.

The southern rural attitudes toward the field labor of women and children to a great extent grow out of the seasonal demands of cotton. The unmechanized processes of chopping and picking call for a large amount of unskilled manual labor. The time element also enters. "The limiting factor is the amount of cotton the average farm family can pick before the cotton begins to deteriorate."²⁰ One small mule can easily till more cotton than the average farmer can chop and pick. It is true, then, that the most successful cotton farmer is the one who can command a large amount of human labor within his own household. "It has been said with some degree of truth," writes Alexander E. Cance,²¹ "that successful farming rests on the unpaid labor of women and children." Of the 1,084,128 women listed in the 1920 Census of Occupations as engaged in agriculture, 80 per cent were found in the ten chief cotton states.²²

¹⁸ H. W. Hawthorne, *et al.*, "Farm Organization and Farm Management in Sumter County, Georgia," *Department of Agriculture Bulletin* 1,034 (1922), p. 37.

¹⁹ "Pellagra in the Mississippi Flood Area," *Public Health Reports*, Reprint 1,187 (1927), p. 16.

²⁰ W. J. Spillman, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

²¹ In *Farm Income and Farm Life*, p. 77.

²² *Occupations*, U. S. Census 1920, Vol. IV, chap. iii.

Practically 20 per cent of all females over ten years of age living on farms in these states were listed as field laborers. Out of every hundred women field laborers, 68 were Negroes and 32 white. In a report of family labor employed per farm²³ October 1, 1927, the South Atlantic states averaged 3.83 and the South Central 3.62 persons as compared with 1.79 for the Western states, 1.82 for North Atlantic and North Central states, and 2.51 for the United States as a whole. Large families are an economic asset. A young cotton tenant wrote:

A young married man single-handed can hardly rent land to farm on, as the landowner wants a man with a large family, children large enough to work so he can realize on their labor. . . . What must the young people among the renters do? They are practically denied the land to farm on until they rear enough children to gather a good-sized cotton crop; that is what the landowners want.²⁴

Children thus may be said to cost the cotton farmer less and pay him more. Forced by the demands of the plant and his economic needs, the one-horse cotton farmer accepts the fieldwork of his womenfolks and children as a matter of course. This attitude on the part of rural families is carried into cotton-mill villages. It is everywhere met in attempts to enforce compulsory school attendance.

Closely connected with devotion to cotton, indeed a part of it, is the speculative attitude engendered by the fluctuations in the price of cotton. A prominent cotton factor in the Eastern Belt writes:

This attitude—a matter of degree, a degree beyond the legitimate risks of normal business—spreads itself in a thoroughgoing way and permeates the economic life of the South. Our most successful and so-called conservative business men grow up with it and are often not aware of its dangers until a crash comes. Meantime, in general, the cotton producer, lien merchant, and dealer has no other outlook, and has learned to live from year to year on the fortunes of risks over which he has absolutely no control, and upon the hazards of which he will stake his all. And when he happens to combine some other line of business with cotton, the risks he exposes himself to are in proportion.

²³ On farms of crop reporters, *Crops and Markets*, V, No. 10 (October, 1928), p. 362.

²⁴ See *Report of Senate Industrial Relations Commission*, Senate Document 415, X (1916), 9262.

Cotton impinges in yet another manner upon the culture patterns of the South. The cotton growers' flow of money income is subject to a seasonal cycle and to the cycle of cotton prices. This serves to give the cotton growers not only a shifting standard of living, but also serves to prevent them from acquiring habits of thrift. It has been shown that the average money income from cotton has ranged from \$35 to \$200 a bale and from \$10 to \$60 an acre. Without an income which can be counted upon, it is almost impossible for a family to plan and live according to a budget. The consumption of goods by the family thus tends to run in cycles corresponding to those of cotton prices rather than to be equalized over a period of years. The cotton farmer is too much given to alternate periods of splurging and deprivation.

The cotton farmer stands to make or lose his income all in one lump at one time. In the Cotton Belt luxuries are likely to be bought on the spur of the moment, during a good season in cotton, and paid for by deprivation in next year's living. Planters are apt to lament the phonographs, sewing-machines, organs, player pianos, automobiles that their tenants buy during seasons of prosperity as evidences of inherent traits of lack of judgment and extravagance of Negroes and poor white people. The culture trait, however, draws an origin from the cyclical nature of cotton itself. A period of deprivation during the growing period is relieved by a supply of ready cash income secured practically all at one time. The income of the cotton grower has its peaks of high prices, but these peaks are not expected, they are not planned for, and they do not always serve to level up the general standard of living.

Two other sets of attitudes peculiar to southern farmers have grown out of the conditions of tenancy and cotton culture. The first attitude may be described as the shiftless attitude of the renter toward the place on which he lives. The common complaint of landlords is of houses allowed to go to ruin, fences torn down, and land lacerated by erosion. Law gives the tenant no interest in his tenancy. A tenure of twenty years gives the renter no more right to remain than a tenure of twenty days. In this the American practice differs from the English. In addition the law gives the tenant no claim for improvements made. The tenant then does not look for-

ward to a future but only to a present use of the farm. In self-defense his is the philosophy of get what he can while he can. To fix fences, clear land, stop gulleys from washing, to repair a shed, or shingle a roof is from his viewpoint a foolish waste of time and energy. From this attitude it may be only a step to the use of fences for firewood. Much of the shiftlessness of southern tenants, regarded in this light, is a self-defensive adjustment.

Mobility furnishes a closely related trait of tenants growing out of a lack of attachment to the farms which they have cultivated. A study by the Department of Agriculture in 1922 estimated there then was a shifting of occupants on 19 per cent of all farms in the United States, 27.7 per cent of tenants and 6 per cent of owners shifting. In eight cotton states, however, 30 to 40 per cent of all farms showed a change of occupants.²⁵ "White croppers reported much shorter average periods of occupancy than colored croppers," ranging from a third of a year to a year and a half.²⁶ In almost any region the form of share rent, a third of corn and a fourth of cotton, set by custom, can take no adequate account of the variations which exist in the fertility of cotton-producing soils in a given area. Variations in character of landlords also exist. Having nothing to lose the tenant is easily led to move by a desire to secure better land, or to find a more agreeable landlord. Poor housing, inferior educational facilities, and health conditions may be regarded as additional factors inciting to mobility. There is always the chance that the tenant may find a better place for no greater expenditure. Let him move a number of times and mobility itself tends to become a habit; the renter has then acquired the reputation of being a shiftless, roving tenant.

When traits such as we have described are confronted in the behavior and attitudes of individuals, these traits are described in terms of personality and character defects. Thus the manager of a large Arkansas plantation owned by Frank O. Lowden writes of the cotton laborer:

²⁵ *Department of Agriculture Yearbook* (1923), p. 590. Kentucky, a state of tobacco tenancy, also showed a farm mobility of from 30 to 40 per cent.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 593.

He has nothing, wants nothing, expects nothing, does not try to have anything, but does waste and destroy any and everything. He is wild for money, but when he gets it, it is not worth five cents on the dollar to buy his needs. That is for waste, his needs are bought on credit.

The inadequate adjustment of the inefficient one-horse cotton farmer group, however, does not operate against its survival in the succeeding generations. Exclusion from urban culture patterns has left the farmers of lower economic levels with less knowledge of contraceptive practices. For the same reasons his attitudes toward the restriction of families partake more of the old, the traditional, and the conservative. Moreover, children are less of an economic handicap in that he is not expected to do as much for them. They are more of an advantage because they furnish unskilled farm labor. After having aided in cultivating the family crop, many sons of farm owners as well as of renters enter maturity and the ranks of cotton croppers and tenants at the same time. The exhaustion of free land and the differential birth-rate in favor of the farmer, accounts in part for increasing tenancy rates. Cotton culture, it may be said, after rendering some of its producers inefficient, makes for their survival both in the economic and biological sense. They are the marginal farmers, for they exist on the outer margin of culture. "They constitute a more or less disturbing factor—a miserable support for themselves and a disturbing menace to the success of others that must always be counted in the estimate of production and consumption and in any proposed legislation."²⁷

²⁷ *Condition of Agriculture in the United States and Measures for Its Improvement*, National Industrial Conference Board (New York, 1927), pp. 8-9.

ECOLOGICAL SUCCESSION IN THE PUGET SOUND REGION

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ABSTRACT

The Puget Sound region is but one link in the chain of habitation areas that extend along the Pacific rim of North America from Alaska to Lower California. White settlement in this region began about the middle of the nineteenth century. The first period of settlement extended from the beginning, 1851, to the coming of the railways, about 1880. During this pioneer stage the communal units were small and scattered—unintegrated mill towns, located for the most part along the western rim of the Sound at points most accessible to water communication with California. The second era of settlement commenced in the eighties when the railroads were introduced and new markets were opened up. This succession continued with increasing momentum but of similar character until the outbreak of the war. This period is characterized by increasing regional aggregation of population and increasing urban concentration. Seattle thus gradually became the center of regional concentration, but several distinct lesser centers also rose while many of the earlier towns declined. By 1910 the region had evolved an urban pattern of settlement in which Seattle was definitely the integrating center. The factors involved in this new pattern are: (a) the development of new industries; (b) the increasing size of the lumber mills; (c) the development of wholesale function; (d) increasing imports by water tended to concentrate in Seattle and Tacoma; and (e) the development of a local net of steam and electric lines. The third and present era of regional settlement began with the economic stimulus created by the war and has advanced with increasing momentum since 1920. This period is characterized by (a) increasing dominance of Seattle as the regional integrating center; (b) increasing local specialization of different agricultural and manufacturing centers; (c) increasing fluidity of population—the region has become a contact unit, erstwhile rural villages have become city suburbs and logging camps are frequently adjacent to fashionable mountain resorts. The factors involved in this sudden regional transition since 1910 are: (a) the development of the paved highway and use of motor transport; (b) the rapid growth of co-operative marketing of all the basic products of the region; (c) the chain system of retailing is rapidly extending throughout the region and is, for the most part, operated from Seattle; (d) the tourist movement has given rise to regional advertising of a national scale and is converting all local highways into city streets lined with camps, eating places, service stations, and road houses.

The Puget Sound region forms a link in the chain of habitation areas that extends along the Pacific Coast of America from Alaska to Mexico. The direct contact part of this civilization zone, lying between Vancouver, Canada, and San Diego, is about two thousand miles in length but only at a few points more than fifty miles in width. This strip of settlement is separated from all other re-

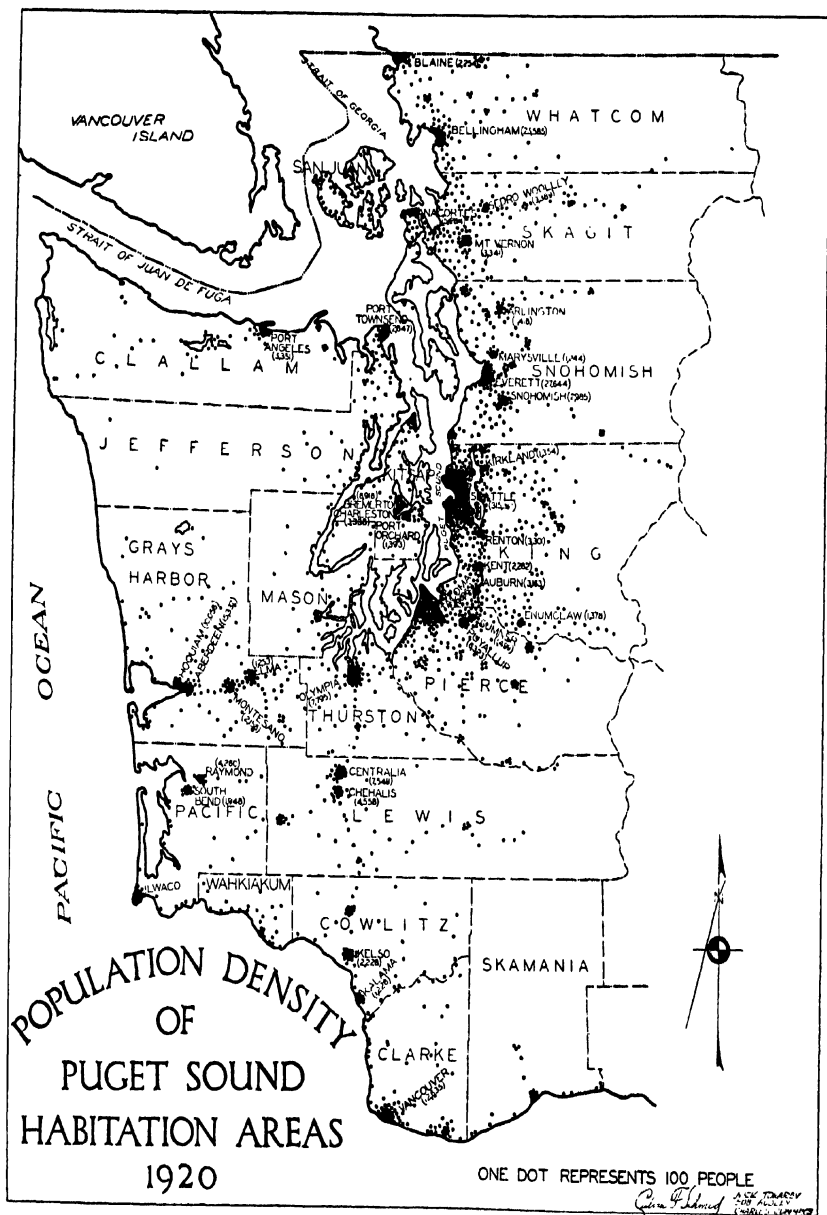
gions of developed occupation by great distances; on the west, the broad Pacific lies between it and the settlements of Asia; on the east, a mountainous and arid zone of from four to six hundred miles in width separates it from the other population centers of the continent.

This north-south civilization belt, which a generation ago was but a frontier zone to the occupied sections of Eastern America, has rapidly evolved a civilization structure of its own and has passed from the position of a series of pioneer outposts to that of a metropolitan economy in which six great urban centers—Vancouver, Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Diego—integrate respective complexes of highly specialized sub-areas of production. Geographically this region falls into two distinct divisions as determined by topography and climate. The Siskiyou watershed at the southern boundary of Oregon divides the region into two supplementary zones. To the north extends an evergreen forest belt that increases in density with the increasing precipitation northward. To the south extends the ever brown belt comprising the several great valleys of California which, under modern methods of irrigation, have become regions of intensive agriculture with flourishing towns and cities. The geographical contrasts in these two sections of the Pacific rim have given rise to tremendous north and south movements of products and people. The basic products of these regions are supplementary rather than competitive. The north exports its lumber,¹ grain, and fish for which the south exchanges its oil, sugar, citrous fruits, and early vegetables. Seasonal differences effect a similar supplementary exchange of population. The summer stimulates a northward flow of California's migratory laborers and tourists,² the winter months

¹ During the last two years (1926, 1927) the California market took about a third of all water-borne shipments of lumber from Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia, and this is a lower ratio than in former years due to recent extensive shipments to the Atlantic Coast. On the other hand California is the source of practically all the oil consumed in this lumber region. From California to Seattle, 90 per cent of tonnage and 50 per cent of value is gasoline and other oil. *Port Warden Reports*, Seattle.

² Definite statistics are not available, but 11,965 California tourists registered in Ranier National Park in the summer of 1928. This, of course, is but a small percentage of the number visiting the state of Washington.

CHART I



cause a reciprocal movement of people from Oregon, Washington, and Western Canada.

The Puget Sound basin, which is our subject of special attention, comprises one of the three major settlement units of the northern half of the zone just described. It is a natural geographic pocket formed by the Puget Sound inlet and the river valleys tributary thereto. Settlement is limited to a strip of territory approximately two hundred miles in length and varying from twenty to fifty miles in width. On the east and west sides it is sharply defined by geographical barriers, mountains or water. At the northern and southern extremities competition with adjoining habitation areas—the Fraser valley on the north and the Columbia-Willamette Valley on the south—determines the margins of movement. The region is closely integrated with the Washington fruit and grain areas lying directly east of the Cascade range but these sections are outside the immediate contact area and are only partly under the economic dominance of the Sound cities.

The Puget Sound habitation area as at present developed represents a highly integrated system of settlement units that have grown up in response to the changes that have taken place in the commercial and industrial activities of the region. The settlement web, owing to marked local differences in rain fall, (85 inches in Aberdeen, 34 in Seattle, and 20 in Port Townsend) topography and resources, represents almost as wide a variety of communal units as exists in the nation as a whole. In this narrow zone comprising a population of about one million³ are to be found in close proximity, agricultural, fishing, mining, lumber, and amusement centers of a wide variety of types. The entire communal complex is integrated into a single economic unity with Seattle as the center of dominance and numerous subordinate towns and cities performing specialized functions.

The task of this paper is to trace what seem to be some of the important intervals of change in the process of settlement development. The fact that the region is young and that many of the pi-

³ In 1920 the population of the fifteen counties embracing the region was 869,005; 65 per cent lived in cities of over 2,500 and 56.5 per cent in the six cities with more than 10,000 inhabitants.

ioneer settlers are still living somewhat simplifies the undertaking. Difficulties arise, however, in the use of statistical data. Census periods do not correspond with the intervals of most active transition, nor do enumeration districts coincide with the natural units of settlement. But even the crude data at hand bring into relief some of the salient features of the changing pattern of settlement resulting from industrial and commercial succession.

On the basis of census data the history of settlement may be divided roughly into three cycles of development: (1) from about 1850 to 1880, that is up to the coming of the railways; (2) 1880 to 1910, the period of aggregation and urbanization resulting from railway communications both local and national; (3) 1910 to the present time, the period of the motor car, market organization, and metropolitanism.

I. PERIOD OF PIONEER SETTLEMENT

The first period, 1850-80, represents the pioneer stage in the process of settlement. During this time the region was but a frontier outpost of settlement elsewhere and more especially of the earlier developed districts in California and Oregon. This was a period of water transportation and rim settlement. The economic base was limited to one industry, lumber. Mills formed the nuclei of settlement and were widely dispersed along the shore of the Sound. It was a village economy stage, but each village was the creation of an economic need manifested in some distant place. The Puget Sound district never was a region of primary settlement in which production was mainly for local use as was the case in early New England or even in the Willamette Valley of Oregon. From the beginning the products of the region were sold in distant markets and most of the articles of consumption imported. There was but little contact among the mill villages of the pioneer period, partly on account of their relative inaccessibility, but chiefly because of the absence of any symbiotic urge. Each village sent its products direct by boat to outside markets and received its supplies direct by boat from outside centers.⁴ During this thirty-year period the nuclei of practically all the present port cities were established but

⁴ F. S. Grant, *History of Seattle, Washington* (New York, 1891), p. 239.

there was no evidence of concentration or centralization. In 1880, Seattle, the largest town, had a population of only 3,533, and Tacoma, the next in size, 1,098.

II. AGGREGATION AND URBANIZATION

The second period of regional succession began about 1880 when the Northern Pacific line reached Puget Sound (Tacoma, 1873; Seattle, 1886), soon to be followed by the Canadian Pacific Railway (1885), the Great Northern (1893), and a short while later by three other transcontinental lines. The influence of the railways is reflected in the growth and concentration of population.

TABLE I
POPULATION AND PER CENT INCREASE BY DECADES

CENSUS* YEAR	PUGET SOUND REGION		WASHINGTON STATE		UNITED STATES
	Population	Per Cent Increase since Preceding Census	Population	Per Cent Increase since Preceding Census	Per Cent Increase since Preceding Census
1880.....	29,951	131.4	75,116	213.6	26.0
1890.....	208,010	594.5	357,232	375.6	25.5
1900.....	300,787	44.6	518,103	45.0	20.7
1910.....	687,443	128.5	1,141,990	120.4	21.0
1920.....	869,005	26.4	1,356,621	18.8	14.9

* Census data.

Table I indicates two cycles of growth in the Puget Sound region during the five decennial periods under review. The boom following the introduction of the railways had subsided by 1900 with a consequent drop in the rate of aggregation. Also the decline in national prosperity (in regard to which the district always has been sensitive) during this period had its effect upon the region. The following decade, however, (1900-1910) shows an increased rate of growth resulting from the development of Alaska, and the expansion of industry and commerce in general. The last census period, which belongs to the third and present stage of settlement, shows a decline in the rate of aggregation, but the conditions associated therewith will be analyzed later.

The process of regional aggregation has been accompanied by a

continuous rearrangement of local population. Every change in transportation and in the economic base has been reflected in a redistribution of inhabitants. Unfortunately census data fail to show the movements in adequate detail. Table II, however, indicates something of the local variations. The figures represent the per cent of increase per decade for each of the fifteen counties in the region divided by the per cent of increase for the same period for the region as a whole.

TABLE II
GROWTH INDICES: COUNTIES VS. REGION

Counties	1870-80	1880-90	1890-1900	1900-10	1910-20
Clallam.....	.43	.56	1.95	.16	2.59
Gray's Harbor.....	.99	1.52	1.38	1.06	.98
Island.....	.56	.10	.01	1.18	.63
Jefferson.....	.26	.65	— .72	.36	— .81
King.....	1.72	1.39	1.61	1.23	1.39
Kitsap.....	.77	.28	.97	1.25	3.33
Lewis.....	1.46	.58	.71	.87	.56
Mason.....	.92	.58	.78	.27	— .17
Pacific.....	.93	.28	.84	.85	.71
Pierce.....	1.03	2.41	.20	.91	.73
San Juan.....	.54	.19	.92	.18	.0004
Skagit.....	.....	.....	1.34	.81	.54
Snohomish.....	1.00	.86	3.94	1.14	.54
Thurston.....	.35	.33	.06	.6	1.03
Whatcom.....	3.71	.83	.62	.82	.08

It is interesting to note that the greatest amount of local shifting of population occurred during the two periods of lowest regional increase—the decades 1890 to 1900 and 1910 to 1920. During these decades the average deviation of the county growth indices from the region's increase was 72.2 per cent and 71.3 per cent respectively, as opposed to 57.7 per cent for 1880 to 1890 and 33.5 per cent for 1900 to 1910, the two decades of most rapid regional increase.

The process of concentration and urbanization can be shown best by presenting census data for successive decades.

The tendency toward concentration is clearly revealed in Table III. Many ports of the pioneer period (prior to 1880) have remained stationary or have declined in population while new places suddenly appear in the communal constellation. Everett, Belling-

ham, and Bremerton (the United States Navy Yard) appear for the first time in the census as substantial cities. Seattle leads the group throughout; at first closely followed by Tacoma but gradually gaining in dominance over all competitors. During the last decade

TABLE III
GROWTH OF PORTS ON PUGET SOUND INLET

CITY, TOWN, OR PRECINCT	POPULATION					
	1920	1910	1900	1890	1880	1870
Seattle.....	315,312	237,194	80,671	42,837	3,533	1,107
Tacoma.....	96,965	83,743	37,714	36,006	1,098	73
Everett.....	27,644	24,814	7,838			
Bellingham.....	25,585	24,208	11,062	8,135		258
Bremerton.....	8,918	2,993				
Olympia.....	7,795	6,906	3,863	4,698	1,232	1,203
Port Angeles.....	5,351	2,286	2,321			
Anacortes.....	5,284	4,168	1,476	1,131		79
Port Townsend.....	2,847	4,181	3,443	4,558	917	593
Blaine.....	2,254	2,289	1,592	1,563	400	
Port Orchard.....	1,393	682	256	226		80
Port Blakely.....	1,384	1,127	1,288	643	500	61
Mukilteo.....	1,077	724	104	92	56	
Shelton.....	984	1,163	833	648		
Port Madison.....	604	609	343	269	200	249
Port Gamble.....	597	730	831	420	421	326
Steilacoom.....	564	430	284	270	250	314
Friday Harbor.....	522	400		75		
La Conner.....	516	603	504	398		40
Port Ludlow.....	479	639	399	236	212	259
Tumwater.....	472	490	270	410	171	354
Port Discovery.....	348	236	121	913	150	152
Coupeville.....	343	310	495	513	90	
Utsalady.....	267	511	460	207	187	100
Seabeck.....	174	436	235	257	266	150

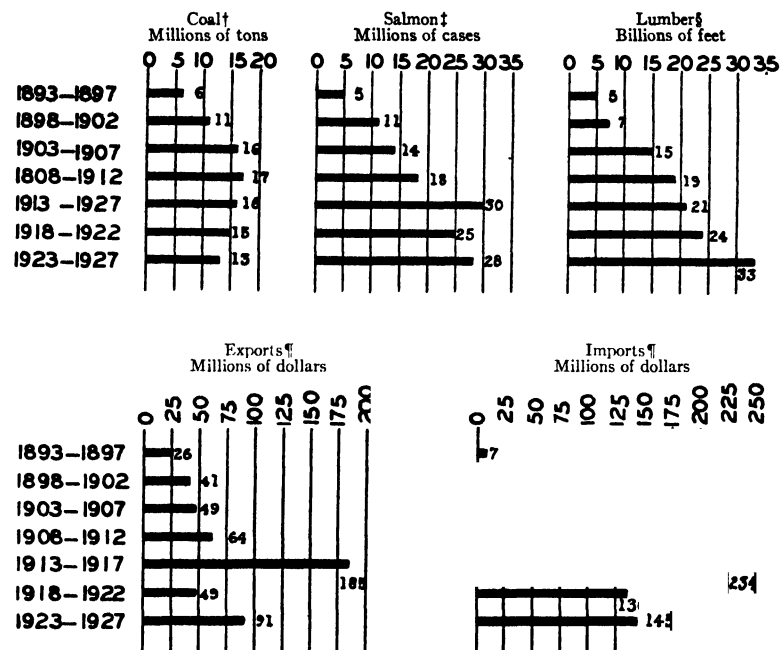
Seattle was the only Sound port whose rate of increase was greater than that of the region as a whole.

Factors.—The increase and distribution of population within the region is, of course, definitely related to the changing nature of the economic base. The following graphs (Chart II) show the trends in the leading sources of regional income.

Agriculture and manufacturing are not included in the foregoing classification because of the lack of comparable statistics re-

garding local production. The two leading forms of agriculture at the moment are dairying and poultrying. The former is a pioneer industry and is highly developed throughout the region.⁵ The lat-

CHART II*



* Sources: Coal—*Mineral Resources of the United States*, 1925, and *Report of State Inspector of Coal Mines*, 1927; Salmon—Pacific Salmon Fisheries, Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Fisheries, 1921, and *Thirty-Sixth and Thirty-Seventh Annual Report of the State Department of Fisheries and Game*, Olympia, 1928; Lumber—Publications of the *United States Forest Service* and the *West Coast Lumberman*, Seattle; Commerce—Compiled by United States Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Seattle Office.

† Figures include Kittitas County which is on the eastern slope of the Cascades but integrated with the Puget Sound region.

‡ Combines production for Puget Sound and Alaska.

§ Figures are for the State of Washington, but over 90 per cent of production is west of the Cascades.

¶ Facts for Washington Customs District. All figures corrected on basis of 1913 values according to indexes of United States Bureau of Labor.

ter is a recently developed industry but owing to efficiency in co-operative marketing has had phenomenal growth. The co-operative movement began in 1917 and in 1927 almost a million cases of eggs were handled.

Each industry has had its own peculiar effect upon population

⁵ In 1924 the value of dairy products sold amounted to about \$15,000,000 and the industry has made substantial gains since them.

distribution. Coal, deposits of which were discovered in the seventies at points near Seattle and Tacoma, afforded the first stimulus to population concentration. Unlike the lumber industry which, in the early period, distributed population rather evenly over a wide territory, coal tended to concentration near the points of production and shipment. Hence the rapid growth of Seattle and Tacoma about 1880 when coal-mining began. But the coal industry has had comparatively slight influence upon population during the last few decades. The competition of crude oil from California and the development of hydroelectric power have reduced greatly the local market for coal.⁶

The fishing industry has always been an important source of income for the region but it has not afforded a basis for town development. The twenty-seven canneries of the Puget Sound are scattered over a wide territory. The Alaska canneries, however, have influenced population concentration in Seattle as this city is their source of labor and materials as well as the port through which the products are marketed.

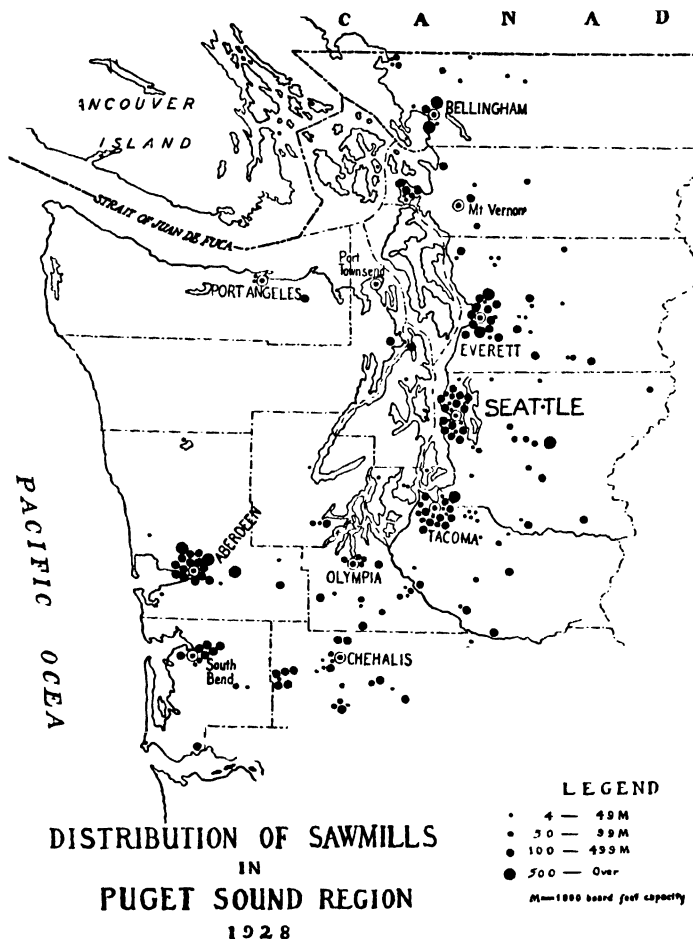
The lumber industry has had a profound influence upon the making and destroying of towns. Practically every city, town, and village of the region is to a greater or less extent dependent upon this industry. It is a double headed industry—the logging camp and the mill town. In the beginning these two units had a common location with the result that when the local area was logged off the mill was closed and the villagers dependent thereon were forced to migrate unless a new economic base could be secured. This accounts for the decline of many incorporated places each decade,⁷ also for the rise of new villages. In the course of time, however, the lumber industry has changed remarkably. With the development of transportation and technique the units of operation have become larger. The logging camp of today, save for a few small concerns,

⁶ See Joseph Daniels, "The Fuel Mining Situation in the Pacific Northwest," *Transactions of the Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy*, Vol. XXVII (1924).

⁷ Thirty-eight incorporated places declined in population between 1890 and 1920, and the region contains scores of deserted mill villages that never were incorporated.

is usually quite remote from the sawmill, and the business office frequently is in a third place. As the mills have increased in size

CHART III

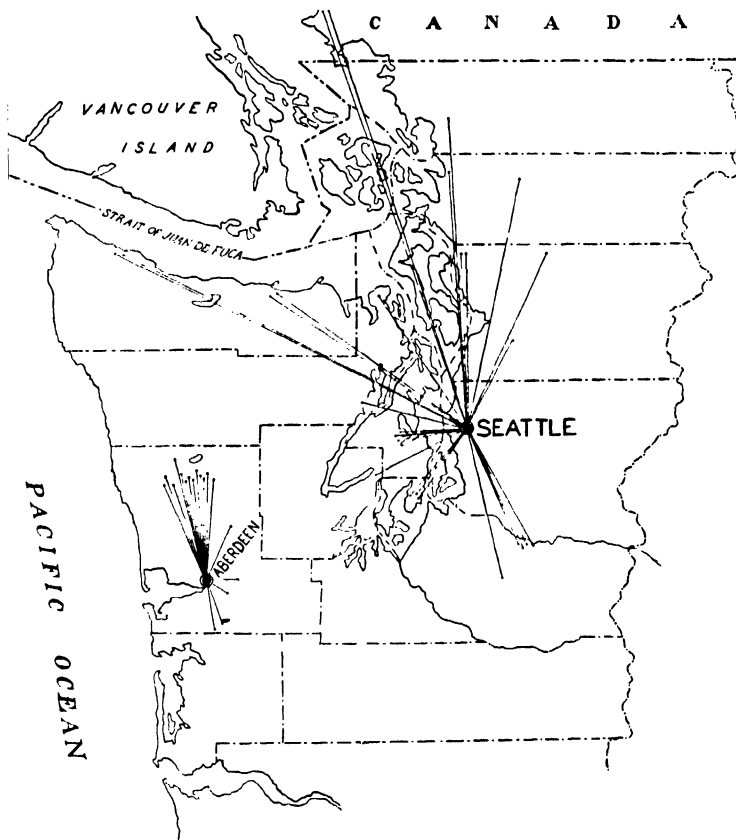


they have helped to concentrate population. The five leading cities of the region are also the leading mill centers and ports of lumber export.

While the concentration of the lumber industry has bunched population at strategic shipping points and given stability to the

larger centers, the outer logging-camp rim is almost as mobile as ever. Of ninety camps listed in Abbey's Register for 1921 only forty-three appear in the 1927 edition.

CHART IV



ZONE OF HAUL OF LOGS TO MILLS

Data from *The Lumberman Directory* and *Abbey's Register* (1927), and field study.

Manufactures other than lumber so far have had but little concentrating significance. While the total product is large, neverthe-

less, the units of production with a few notable exceptions^a are still small. The average number of employees per plant is but little higher than it was twenty years ago. The recent rise of the pulp industry at points along the western rim of settlement is causing a rejuvenation of several decadent towns.

The changing nature and direction of commerce accounts in large measure for the successive patterns of population distribution in the Puget Sound region. The unusually large number of sizable

TABLE IV
FOREIGN COMMERCE BY CARGO PORTS IN
WESTERN WASHINGTON 1927*

Port	Imports	Exports
Seattle.	\$205,395,663	\$60,089,926
Tacoma.	18,438,250	42,372,089
Aberdeen.	6,305	8,690,661
Bellingham.	718,924	1,946,314
Everett.	792,522	2,639,293
Port Angeles.	1,221,054	458,084
Port Townsend.	141,822	174,197

* United States Custom's Service, Bureau of Statistics, February 15, 1928, quoted in *Port of Seattle Year Book*, 1928.

cities in relation to the population of the region is due to the bulky nature of the leading export—lumber, which, unlike lighter and more valuable commodities, shows but little tendency to concentrate for purposes of shipment.

In the early period of settlement when the market was restricted and the boats were comparatively small, the leading ports of export were located along the western rim of Puget Sound.^b But after the railways came, most of the western ports declined and those on the eastern shoreline sprang ahead.

While exports leave from many points, imports tend to concentrate. Table IV refers to foreign commerce only. The domestic commerce of these ports is greater than the foreign but the relative

^a The six leading industrial centers of the region—Seattle, Tacoma, Everett, Aberdeen, Hoquiam, Bellingham—contained 1,548 manufacturing establishments in 1925, giving employment to 44,928 workers. *Biennial Census of Manufactures*, 1925.

^b In 1890, the *Seattle Post Intelligencer* gave a list of the thirteen leading ports of lumber shipment from December 1, 1889, to November 30, 1890. The first seven appearing in the list are on the western water rim but none is in the present list of customs ports, Grant, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

port positions regarding imports and exports remains about the same.

Agriculture has had considerable significance both in regard to distribution and selection of population. According to the 1925 census less than 3 per cent of the total area of the region was in harvested crops the previous year. The cultivated area is confined largely to the river valleys, lake shores, and tidal flats. The soil and climate favor truck farming as opposed to cereals. The limiting factor for this sort of agriculture has always been markets. Interesting successions in land utilization appear as settlement developed and as market organization became more efficient. In the nineties most of the land under cultivation in King and Snohomish counties was devoted to hop growing. Picking was done by Indians and Chinese. But as the cities grew, hops were displaced by dairy herds, not only to supply local needs but for a wider market. Condensaries were established in a number of valley towns and many immigrants from the Netherlands came to the region as milkers or dairy farmers. In recent years, however, several new forms of agriculture are arising, largely as a result of co-operative marketing. Lettuce, berries, and especially eggs are becoming important products of shipment to outside markets. Dairy herds have gradually been pushed back from the cities and the land used in the production of vegetables and berries. The succession was accompanied by an invasion of Japanese who first entered as laborers but gradually took up farming for themselves specializing in lettuce and other truck crops.

Large-scale poultrying is a new industry in the region. In using the uplands it has not displaced any previous form of agriculture. On the other hand it is effecting a new distribution of the agricultural population. Several poultry villages have recently appeared on the logged off uplands,¹⁰ the inhabitants being mostly newcomers from the middle western states.

III. CENTRALIZATION AND METROPOLITANISM

The third and present cycle in the evolution of settlement may be designated as the stage of metropolitanism. The period from

¹⁰ A good example is Alderwood Manor, a community of 1,500 people located on the logged-off uplands midway between Seattle and Everett.

1910, or more accurately from the outbreak of the War to the present, differs from the preceding thirty years chiefly in regard to the rearrangement of local population and the reintegration of communal units. The influence of the motor car, the Panama Canal, Pacific trade, and the changing technique of business organization, has been such as to effect a new cycle of regional development.

The most conspicuous feature of change during the last fifteen years is the increasing dominance of Seattle as a metropolitan center. Of the total regional increase in population for the decade, 1910-20, 43 per cent took place within the corporate limits of Seattle. All available criteria of growth indicate that the same or even a higher rate of concentration has taken place since 1920.

Rearrangement of Centers.—The influence of the motor car and the new system of highways is reflected in the decline of many of the old communal centers and the development of new ones. Up to 1910 settlement was confined almost entirely to the salt-water rim and along the river valleys. Towns and villages were spaced from five to ten miles apart depending upon land utilization and topography. The settlements in one valley were quite largely isolated from those in a neighboring valley, frequently but a few miles distant. Towns along the Sound were united by boat or train both of which followed circuitous routes. The coming of the motor car and highways immediately effected a new spatial pattern for the entire region. The motor highway, unlike the railroad, is not confined to the valleys nor does it slavishly follow the jagged coastline and meandering mountain streams. Every year the work of straightening and leveling the motor route progresses so that at present the Pacific Highway, which unites all the larger towns of the region, has become a comparatively straight line between centers.

Although the effect of motor transportation has been most pronounced during the last five years its influence is discernible in the settlement changes that occurred in the decade, 1910-1920. During that ten year period, twenty-six incorporated places lost in population.¹¹ Nor were these logging camps that declined with the cutting of the timber. Many were agricultural villages located in

¹¹ As opposed to three for the decade, 1900-1910.

valleys where production had steadily increased. A study of the map shows that many of the declining places are located within a ten-mile radius of a larger center of population. Most of the villages along the Pacific Highway decreased in population between 1910 and 1920. Likewise practically all the Cascade-rim villages declined. Branch highways serving as outlets to the larger towns along the Sound are responsible, undoubtedly, for a considerable portion of this decline.

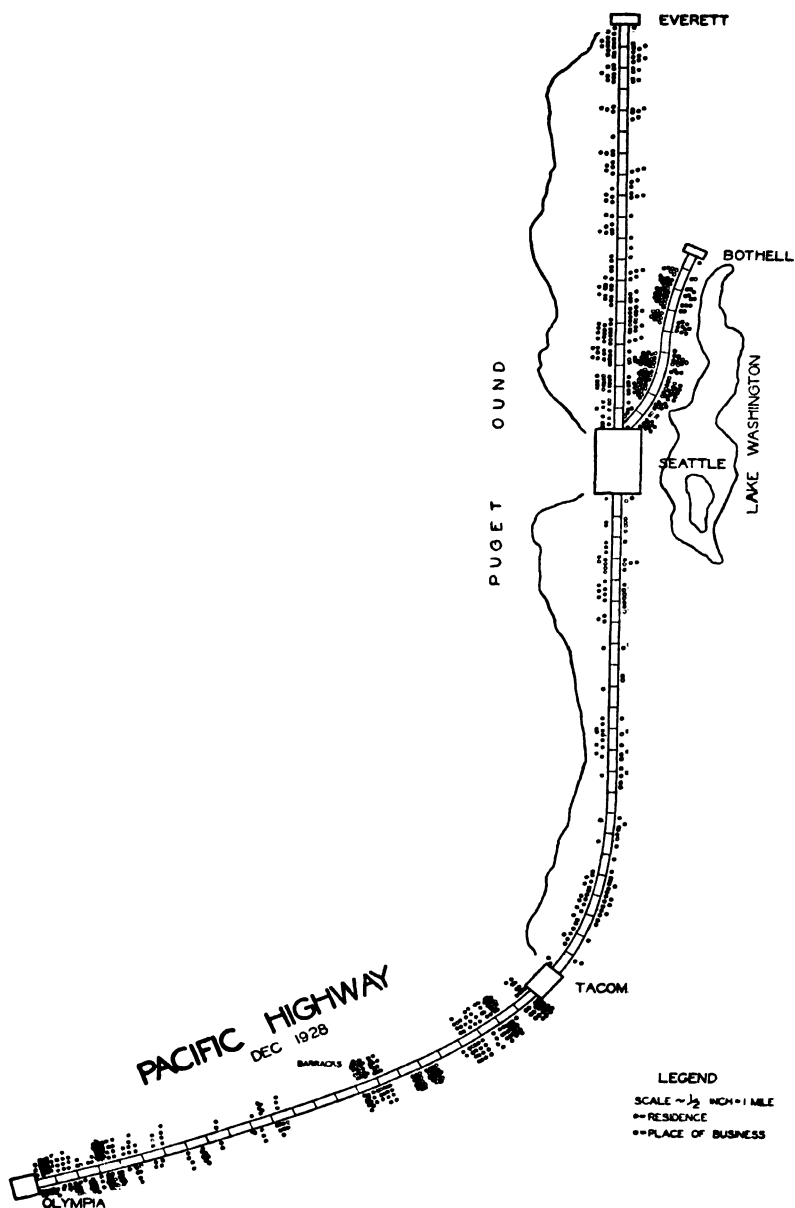
But aside from changing old towns and villages the motorization of the region is effecting a new pattern of population distribution and communal centers. The highways, of which there are at present 972 miles of cement pavement outside city corporations,¹² are assuming the characteristics of city streets. This is especially true of the Pacific Highway along which homes and places of business have grouped with amazing rapidity. The following chart gives a rough idea of the magnetic influence of this great thoroughfare of traffic. The Pacific Highway in following almost a straight course between the leading cities of the Sound traverses the logged-off upland and therefore fails to touch many of the intermediary valley centers. On the other hand it has occasioned the rise of a series of new minor centers located at cross roads and other strategic points.

The cities of this region are rapidly growing together. Topographic peculiarities—the Sound on one side and lakes and valleys on the other—are hastening the process by preventing lateral spread. The zones between cities are devoted largely to various forms of leisure-time enterprises. Tourist camps, golf courses, dance halls, road houses intermixed with a variety of supplementary types of business, such as service stations, garages, fruit, and “hot-dog” stands form a series of successive zones leading out from each of the larger centers.

To a less extent all the other important highways of the region are serving the function of city streets and causing an outward movement of residence and business. Stage lines interlock practically all the communal units and every form of industry and busi-

¹² In addition there are many miles of well-developed gravel and crushed-rock highways, also a few miles of asphaltic macadam.

CHART V



Data for December, 1928. The middle part of the highway between Seattle and Everett has been open to traffic for only fourteen months and part of the highway between Seattle and Tacoma has been open only four months.

ness (bar logging where the steam railway is still extensively used) is organized on the basis of motor transportation. Consequently all the old trade areas have been superseded by a series of wider zones. Milk and vegetables are trucked into Seattle daily from a radius of fifty to one hundred miles. And the free delivery zones of the leading stores of Puget Sound cities overlap and interlace making the entire region practically a single conurbation.

Integration and Dominance.—Co-ordinate with the changing scale of distance has come about a new pattern of communal integration. The region is becoming organized on the chain system with Seattle as the integrating center. Not only does this city contain the regional branch offices of business and social organizations having headquarters in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, or elsewhere, but it is also the business center of most of the great industrial and commercial enterprises originating within the region itself.

Chief among the factors making for business centralization and dominance is the recent development of market organization both in regard to the sale of basic products and in retail merchandising. So long as lumber, fish, and coal constituted the only important products of export little attention was given to market organization. But when attempts were made to sell perishable agricultural products in distant markets efficient organization became imperative.¹³ Consequently within the last few years elaborate systems of market organization, both private and co-operative, have come into existence. And in nearly every case the central office is located in Seattle.¹⁴ The general pattern is illustrated in the present system of marketing eggs and dairy products.

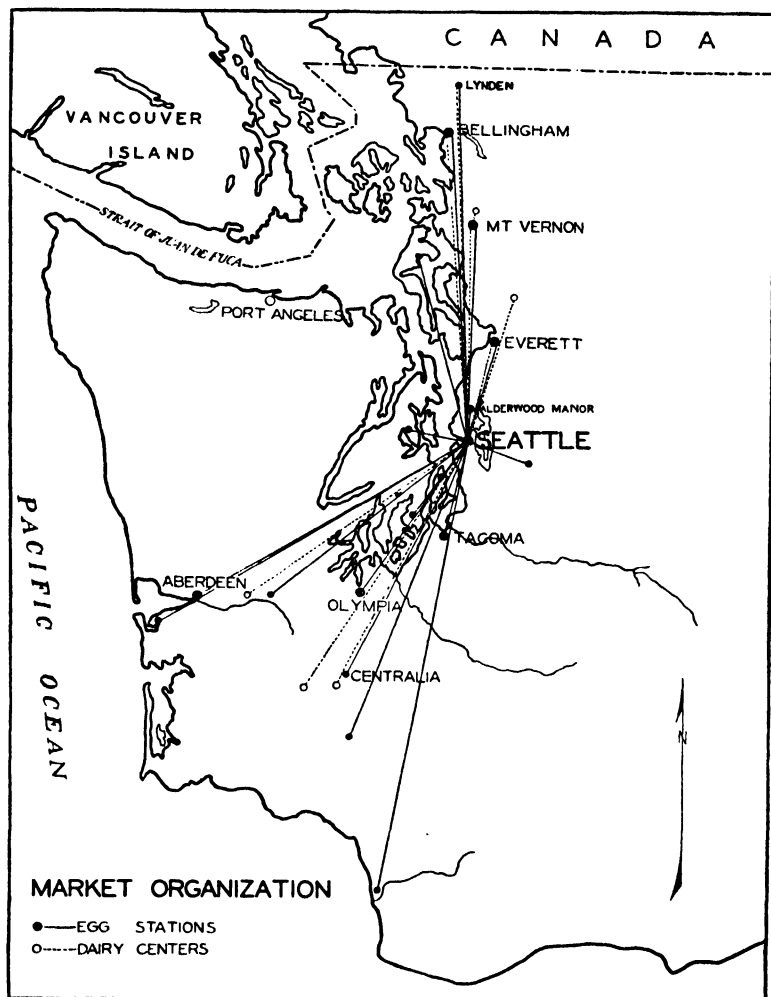
Even the lumber industry, where individualism is most pronounced, is now beginning to organize as a single marketing unit. In 1913, the Douglas Fir Exploitation and Export Company was organized to standardize and centralize the foreign export business in lumber. Today this organization handles about 90 per cent of

¹³ This involves standardization of grades and methods of shipment, and centralized communications.

¹⁴ The growth of Seattle as an office center is one of the striking characteristics of the present cycle of change. From 1920-25, 167 office buildings were erected in Seattle at a total cost of \$10,494,240 in contrast to 12 office buildings at a cost of \$2,023,200 for the two other cities of the region having more than 20,000 inhabitants.

the region's lumber exports. The head office is located in Seattle and the associated mills are distributed throughout the region from Canada to Oregon.

CHART VI



The chain system of merchandising is another important integrating factor. Local and national chains are spreading rapidly throughout the region knitting together the communal complex.

Practically every town in the region with a population of a thousand or over contains one or more branches of chain drug, grocery, hardware, and general merchandising stores.

The effect of these and many other forms of recent business amalgamation has been to make Seattle the financial and business center of the region and to increase its dominance in the communal constellation. This business centralization, however, is not accompanied by a corresponding concentration of industry. On the contrary manufactures are distributed rather widely over the region and show but little tendency to segregate. Seattle ranks fourth as a center of lumber production and is exceeded by Tacoma, Everett, and Bellingham in the ratio of adults gainfully employed in manufactures.

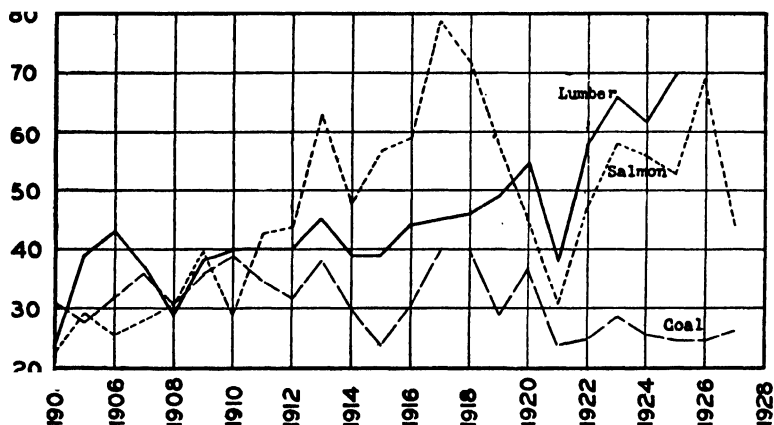
Selection and Equilibrium.—The successive stages of regional growth have not only given rise to different patterns of population distribution but have also effected significant changes in population selection. The process of aggregation has always exceeded the genetic rate of increase. The region, therefore, has been a magnet constantly drawing to itself the population elements best adapted to its economic structure. Industrial succession has been accompanied by change in population composition. Space limitations forbid a complete survey of this interesting subject. A few facts, however, regarding changes in sex and age composition will serve to illustrate the process.

The region's ratio of males per one hundred females for successive decades is: 1880, 160; 1890, 188; 1900, 146; 1910, 140; 1920, 120. While the trend is downward the curve follows closely the regional aggregation curve. The years of highest aggregation, 1890 and 1910, are also those of greatest disparity between the sexes. The sex ratio for 1910 is lowered somewhat by the urbanization process but the seven rural counties having highest growth indices for this decade all show substantial increases over the previous decade in the ratio of males to females. The ratio of adult males, (ages twenty to forty-four) to the aggregate population has always been high. The facts are not available for counties, but the data for the state and Seattle illustrate the situation for the region in general. The percentages are: (1) state—1900, 27.0; 1910,

27.8; 1920, 22.6; (2) Seattle—26.7, 32.5, and 26.0 respectively. The increase for 1910 is due to the more rapid aggregation during the first decade of the century.

The economic base of the region has always been very unstable. The basic industries are of the type in which seasonal and yearly fluctuations are pronounced. During the early stages of settlement, before agriculture and manufacturing developed, the problem of maintaining equilibrium was serious.

CHART VII



The region periodically suffered from a shortage or a surplus of labor. This is reflected in the high degree of mobility.¹⁵ Population has always shuttled in and out of the region in response to economic change. But, as the economic base of the region becomes increasingly complex, the effect of fluctuations in the great basics is less drastic. The development of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce is increasing the stability of the region as well as changing the composition of the population and the character of the economic and social institutions.

While the region still bears many marks of the frontier, it is rapidly entering upon a metropolitan era the future of which lies in the Pacific with its unknown possibilities.

¹⁵ According to the last census (1920) only 22.9 per cent of the population of Seattle was born in the state of Washington. On the other hand the percentage of foreign born declined from 31.9 in 1890 to 25.7 in 1920.

ECOLOGICAL SUCCESSION IN THE SAN JUAN ISLANDS

NORMAN S. HAYNER
University of Washington

ABSTRACT

The San Juan Islands are located in the northern part of the Puget Sound region where they form a natural area that is identical with San Juan County, Washington. Many of the first settlers were disappointed gold-seekers who raised sheep or cattle as the principal means of livelihood. A rapid increase of population during the eighties was associated with agricultural development and an expansion of the lime industry. Fruit raising and the growth of the fishing industry facilitated a steady increase in population during the next two decades. By 1910, however, the population of the islands seems to have reached a saturation point for the existing economic base and since 1920 the trend in the county as a whole has been downward. Ecological succession on the larger islands of this archipelago may be divided into three stages: (1) the pioneer stage (1853-80); (2) the village stage (1881-1910); (3) the island-unit stage (1911—). Two types of data have been used as criteria for determining these stages: (1) statistics showing population trends and changes in the economic base, (2) maps showing successive spatial patterns of distribution and integration.

The San Juan Islands are located in the northern part of the Puget Sound region. Bounded by four Straits—Juan de Fuca on the south, Haro on the west, Georgia on the north, and Rosario on the east—they form a natural geographic and habitation area. They are for the most part rugged and mountainous with irregular shore-lines deeply indented with narrow fjord-like harbors. Less than one-third of the land is suitable for cultivation.¹ Compared with the Puget Sound region as a whole, the islands are located in a "dry belt," the average annual rainfall between 1910 and 1927 being 29.89 inches. During the winter months strong wind storms sweep through the archipelago and at all seasons swift tides run through the channels surrounding the islands.

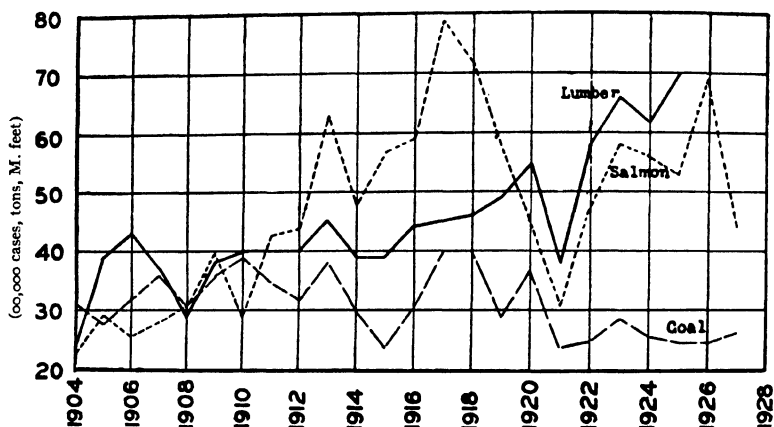
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¹ An estimate based on a map showing cultivated lands prepared by the Reconnaissance Soil Survey of the Western Part of the Puget Sound Basin under the direction of the United States Department of Agriculture (1910). According to the 1920 census the "improved land in farms" was exactly one-sixth of the total land area.

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ties, the larger islands seem to have passed through three fairly definite stages in ecological succession. These stages may be designated as follows: (1) the pioneer stage, from the first settlement in 1853 to 1880, the beginning of a decade marked by rapid settlement; (2) the village stage, from 1881 through a period characterized by the formation of all the present villages to 1910 when the islands seem to have reached a saturation point for the existing economic base; (3) the island-unit stage, from 1911 to the present when the trend seems to be toward the development of island-unit communities. Each stage tends to develop a more or less characteristic spatial pattern of distribution and integration. These typical patterns may be shown on maps² and will be discussed later in the paper. First, however, it is important to review in greater detail the population trends that differentiate the successive stages together with the changes in economic base which underlie these trends.

POPULATION AND THE ECONOMIC BASE

It is probable that there were settlers in these islands before 1853, but it is certain that the Hudson Bay Company landed a flock of thirteen hundred sheep on San Juan Island in that year, established "Bellevue Farm" and employed Kanakas as sheep herders. After the Fraser River gold excitement of 1858 and the "rush" to the Cariboo District in 1862, disappointed gold-seekers drifted through the Islands, decided to settle and raised sheep or cattle as the principal means of livelihood. The fact that this archipelago is identical with San Juan County, Washington, makes detailed statistics available since 1870. Although there are eighty-four islands, island groups, and reefs in the county, with an area of more than one-quarter of an acre,³ only seven of these have a population larger than thirty at the present time. Table I shows the changing populations of these seven. Islands with smaller populations were counted with adjacent islands of larger size.

² The writer is indebted to Ralph Newell and Margaret Blenkner for assistance in preparing for publication the three maps used in this paper.

³ See R. D. McLellan, *The Geology of the San Juan Islands* (University of Washington Press, 1927), p. 178, for a list of these islands with the number of acres in each.

It will be noted in Table I that San Juan Island, which has a slightly smaller land area than Orcas Island, has had from the first a larger population. The relatively large size of its population in 1860 and 1870 is to be accounted for by the inclusion of the American garrison of approximately one hundred men.⁴ Its larger area of fertile soil, the presence of Friday Harbor, the county seat, and its greater development of the fishing and lime industries are factors in its continued importance.

TABLE I
ISLAND POPULATIONS IN SAN JUAN COUNTY

Island	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920
San Juan.....	376*	.....	992	1,277	1,435	1,498
Orcas.....	108	.....	543	833	1,119	1,006
Lopez.....	48	.....	321	553	687	821
Shaw.....	1	.....	.....	81	84	101
Waldron.....	6	.....	.....	77	130	96
Stuart.....	1	.....	.....	51	62	58
Blakely.....	2	.....	.....	56	86	25
County.....	554†	948‡	2,072§	2,928	3,603	3,605

* Does not include the British garrison. White population in 1860—147.

† Total for the county includes Decatur Island (8), Henry Island (2), and Spiedan Island (2).

‡ No data available for civil divisions smaller than the county.

§ Total includes 195 "not located by precincts," Henry Island (13), and Smith Island (8).

The rapid increase in population between 1880 and 1890 indicates the beginning of the second stage in island development. Since 382 Indians⁵ were counted in 1880 and only 32 in 1890 the white population increased 260 per cent during the decade. The Tacoma and Roche Harbor Lime Company was established in 1887 and by 1890 supported a town of 247 inhabitants. This plant with its daily capacity of 1,500 barrels, together with smaller establishments on San Juan and Orcas, created a wood-cutting industry for

⁴ Between 1860 and 1872 San Juan Island was occupied jointly by British and American troops. For the details of the San Juan Dispute see Edmond S. Meany, *History of the State of Washington*, chap. xxiii, or E. O. S. Scholefield and F. W. Howay, *British Columbia*, Vol. II, chap. xviii.

⁵ Neighboring tribes—the Lummi, Samish, Saanich, and Cowichan—came to the islands during the season to fish. Northern Indians—the Haida, Bella Bella, Tsimshian, and Tlingit—also came through the islands on hunting, fishing, and raiding expeditions.

islanders to supply the kilns with fuel.⁶ The islands were also developing agriculturally with the result that all the present landing place centers on the three major islands were functioning by 1893, together with several that have since been abandoned.

Table I also shows a steady increase in population through the next two decades. By 1895 a salmon cannery was in operation at Friday Harbor with an annual output of 25,000 cases. In 1901, there were "about 40 traps in the county, employing about 300 men which does not include others engaged in the traffic—the steamboat men, the cannery employees, the packers, and others, which would make the total engaged in the fishing industry amount to over a thousand."⁷ At the same time Orcas Island was described as "the leading fruit-raising section of the Sound country" and East Sound as "a community of busy and active fruit growers." Dairying and sheep-raising were also important activities. In many parts of the county land values were higher during the village stage than at the present time.

By 1910 the population of the islands seems to have reached a saturation point for the existing economic base. Only three of the islands experienced an increase in population between 1910 and 1920 and the increase on San Juan Island is more than accounted for by the growth of Friday Harbor from 400 to 522 during the decade. After 119 interviews with representative individuals on all these seven islands, the writer is convinced that, with the possible exception of San Juan and Blakely, the trend in population since 1920 has been downward. Although the lime industry con-

⁶ In contrast with the rest of the Puget Sound region island timber was for the most part too small, wind-blown, and pitchy to make anything except piles and railroad ties, but was excellent for fuel in the lime kilns. Since an 1896 report shows only forty men employed in the logging camps of the county, the 1890 census ratio of three females to five males cannot be explained, as in other counties of the region at that time, by the importance of the logging industry. The rapid expansion of population in the eighties was a more important factor. The sex ratio as a whole had changed by 1920 from three to more than four females to every five males, but the earlier ratio still held for individuals over forty-four years of age.

⁷ H. L. Wilhelm, "The San Juan Islands," an illustrated supplement to the *San Juan Islander*, a weekly newspaper, p. 6. Although many of these employees were "outsiders" attracted by the "big run" of Sockeye salmon which occurs only once in four years, participation in the fishing industry was a popular method of supplementing island incomes.

tinues about the same, the fishing industry has declined. As compared with the salmon caught on Puget Sound in 1913, the number in 1917 was one-half, in 1921 one-sixth, and in 1925 one-fourth.⁸ More important, however, is the fact that in certain types of agriculture the islands have been unable to compete with more favored districts.

Table II shows the decline of the fruit industry in San Juan County. In 1900 "Wenatchee was only used for sheep" and island fruit could be easily marketed. Competition with the apple grow-

TABLE II
ORCHARD TREES IN SAN JUAN COUNTY

Type of Tree	1899	1909	1919	1924
Apple.....	72,408	76,731	51,237	34,451
Plum and prune.....	23,429	8,404	5,827	5,162
Pear.....	4,886	5,657	12,806	10,070

ers "East of the Mountains" and the prune industry of California, accompanied by an increasing variety of pests including the tent caterpillar and the codling moth, made necessary the cutting down of many orchard trees. The only orchards on Orcas Island that are still rated as successful are pear orchards, and it will be noted that the number of pear trees has declined since 1919. At the present time no commercial orchards of any significance are to be found on the other islands.

Table III shows that chickens and dairy cows⁹ have increased steadily in importance since 1889 and that sheep are still a leading product. Although the acreage in both oats and potatoes declined about one-third between 1899 and 1924, the acreage in hay, under

⁸ The small catch in 1921 was due in part to the blocking of the Fraser River by rocks blasted from the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1917 which prevented the salmon from going up the river to their spawning grounds. The establishment of closed areas and the curtailment of the fishing season, a policy inaugurated in 1921, seems to account for the recent increase in salmon on Puget Sound. See the biennial report of the State Department of Fisheries and Game, Division of Fisheries, for further details.

⁹ Although the number of dairy cows was less in 1925 than in 1920, the amount of milk produced in the county increased from 1,132,750 gallons in 1919 to 1,453,170 gallons in 1924.

the influence of the growing dairy industry, increased three times during the same period. It is interesting that on Waldron and Stuart Islands where sheep-raising is the dominant industry the population is less than one-half what it was in 1920.

In spite of these increases in chickens and cows, the development of a green pea industry on San Juan and a growing "tourist crop" on Orcas, farming is difficult in San Juan County. Land in

TABLE III
LIVESTOCK IN SAN JUAN COUNTY

Type of Livestock	1889	1899	1909	1919	1920
Sheep.....	6,377	12,871	9,855	8,444	7,932
Swine.....	817	1,114*	1,212	2,501	1,131
Dairy cows.....	443	774	1,916	3,175	2,467
Chickens.....	9,898	19,452†	17,349‡	25,652	33,504

* Sold or slaughtered.

† Including guinea fowls.

‡ Poultry.

farms decreased 1,471 acres or about 2 per cent between 1920 and 1925¹⁰ and the total value of farm land and buildings decreased \$88,178 or about the same per cent during the five year period. The percentage of tenancy decreased from 16.8 in 1920 to 6.7 in 1925 suggesting that it is the farmers who own land that stay and try to make a living.

THE PIONEER PATTERN¹¹

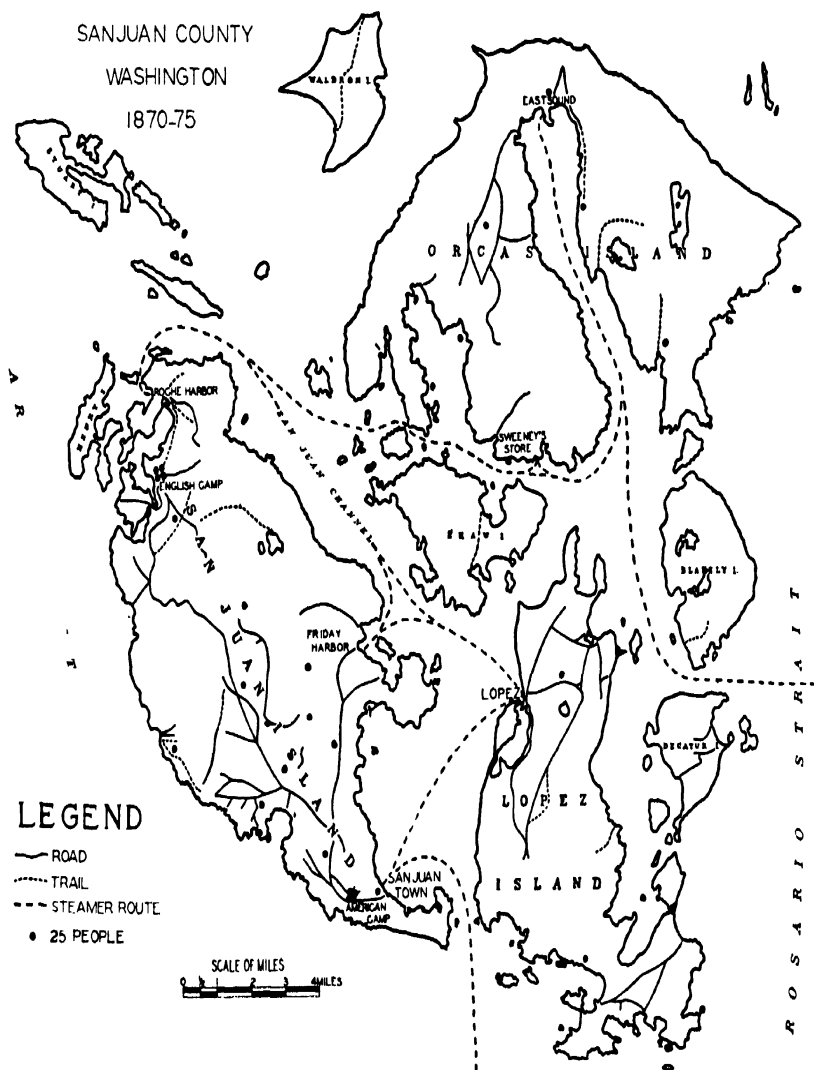
Map I, showing the pioneer pattern, is based on charts appended to a copy of the field notes of the first survey of San Juan County (1874-75). The men who made this survey recorded the

¹⁰ It is interesting to note that the land in farms has decreased about 4 per cent in Island County during the same period. Island County is composed of Whidby and Camano Islands which, together with Bainbridge and Vashon Islands near Seattle, seem to have passed through stages in ecological succession which may be designated by terms similar to those used in this study.

¹¹ Fragments of nets made of willow bark, bone fish-hooks, stone sinkers, bone teeth from herring rakes, celts used for digging out canoes, arrow-heads and spear points found in the county indicate a preliterate hunting and fishing stage. Although the writer has a map showing the location of Lummi and Samish fishing villages on the shores of the islands, further research is necessary to determine accurately the numbers, fluidity, seasonal movements, and migrations of these Indian tribes.

PIONEER PATTERN

IN
SANJUAN COUNTY
WASHINGTON
1870-75



names of settlers with whose claims they came in contact while running the section lines. The distribution of these names serves as a basis for distribution of the 1870 population discussed above. With the exception of the northern part of San Juan Valley on San Juan and Crow Valley on Orcas¹² the homes of the pioneers were located within easy access to the water. "Most of the land claimed on Lopez Island," writes Mrs. A. H. H. Stuart in her book on *Washington Territory* (1875) "is at or near the water, leaving the interior, which is really the finest land, lying idle."

The county surveyors also included most of the roads and trails in their charts. The longest road was from English Camp through American Camp to San Juan Town, the first landing-place center (1859). Lopez, another early center, was the focus for three short roads on Lopez Island. The only roads of any significance on Orcas were located in Crow Valley. Waldron and Shaw Islands had nothing but trails. Oxcarts were common at this time and horses were used for riding, but walking was the principal means of land transportation.

Interviews with first settlers or their children indicate that before the advent of a steamboat on a regular run¹³ in 1873, and after that on outlying islands like Stuart and Waldron, the pioneers were dependent for mail and supplies on canoes, row-boats, sloops, or trading schooners. For the marketing of lambs, potatoes or deer-meat and the procuring of the year's supplies of sugar, tea, tobacco, etc., either sailing sloops or large canoes paddled by Indians were used. For less important trips paddling to Victoria or rowing to Whatcom (later called Bellingham) was a common achievement.

¹² San Juan Valley is southwest of Friday Harbor and Crow Valley southwest of East Sound.

¹³ Between 1861 and 1868 the *Diana* was chartered by the United States government "to carry mails between San Juan Island and the mainland and to convey officers and troops about the Sound." Although San Juan Town was its home port, it went as far north as Sitka on some of its trips, making it obvious that it was not on a regular run. "In contrast with present day service, we had mail once a month if the boat did not fail to make the trip," wrote James Fleming in the *Friday Harbor Journal* (April 21, 1927). "Captain Tom Wright had the little steamer 'Diana' and would bring the mail over from Victoria. That city was the principal trading center for the Islands in those days. Nearly everyone who lived near the water owned a sloop or some kind of craft. . . ."

In the early days Victoria was the most important market and supply center not merely for the San Juan Islands but for the entire region. After the establishment of the boundary in 1872, however, and the imposition of duties, Port Townsend and Whatcom grew in importance.

In 1873 the *Rose*, a tug boat, carried the mail once every two weeks through the islands from Port Townsend to Whatcom. Shortly afterwards another tug boat, the *Etta White*, carried the mail over the same route once a week. It was followed by the *Dispatch*. At first these boats did not stop at Friday Harbor, founded in 1875, or at Sweeney's Store¹⁴ but came later to do so. The uncertainty of this boat service is suggested by the following entry in an old diary: "The mail boat arrived on time today."

THE VILLAGE PATTERN

During the years 1888-97, the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey gathered data for the first accurate chart of the islands. Although corrections and new items have been added to this map from year to year, the complex system of roads seems to have been left as it was in 1897. These roads are shown on Map II and make a striking contrast to the few scattered roads and trails of the pioneer pattern. The dominant form of land transportation is indicated by the fact that there were 601 horses and 242 wagons and carriages in the county (1894). Only thirty "working oxen" were reported in the census of 1890.

The steamer service through the islands during the eighties was once a week and later twice a week out of Port Townsend, but during the nineties the boats began making three trips a week out of Seattle. In 1901 the steamship *Lydia Thompson*, capacity 100 tons, left Seattle every Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday at midnight and Whatcom at 2:00 A.M. on alternate days carrying mail, freight, and passengers through the islands. At the same time the steamer *Buckeye*, a smaller boat licensed to carry 60 passengers, left Whatcom every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday for Ana-

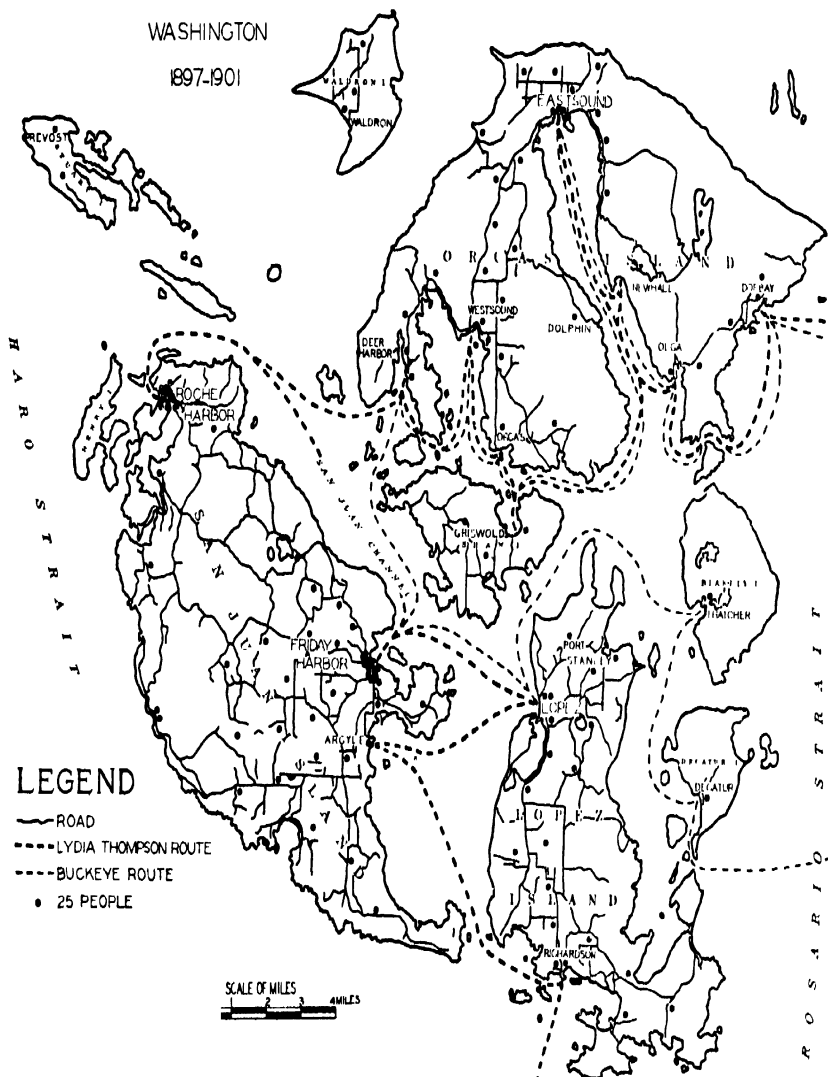
¹⁴ Steve Sweeney's store near Grindstone Bay on Orcas Island was a popular stopping point for Indians en route to and from the Puyallup hop fields south of Seattle in their dug-out canoes. In 1885 Sweeney was bought out by W. E. Sutherland who built the store, dock, and hotel at Orcas.

VILLAGE PATTERN

SAN JUAN COUNTY

WASHINGTON

1897-1901



LEGEND

- ROAD
- LYDIA THOMPSON ROUTE
- BUCKEYE ROUTE
- 25 PEOPLE

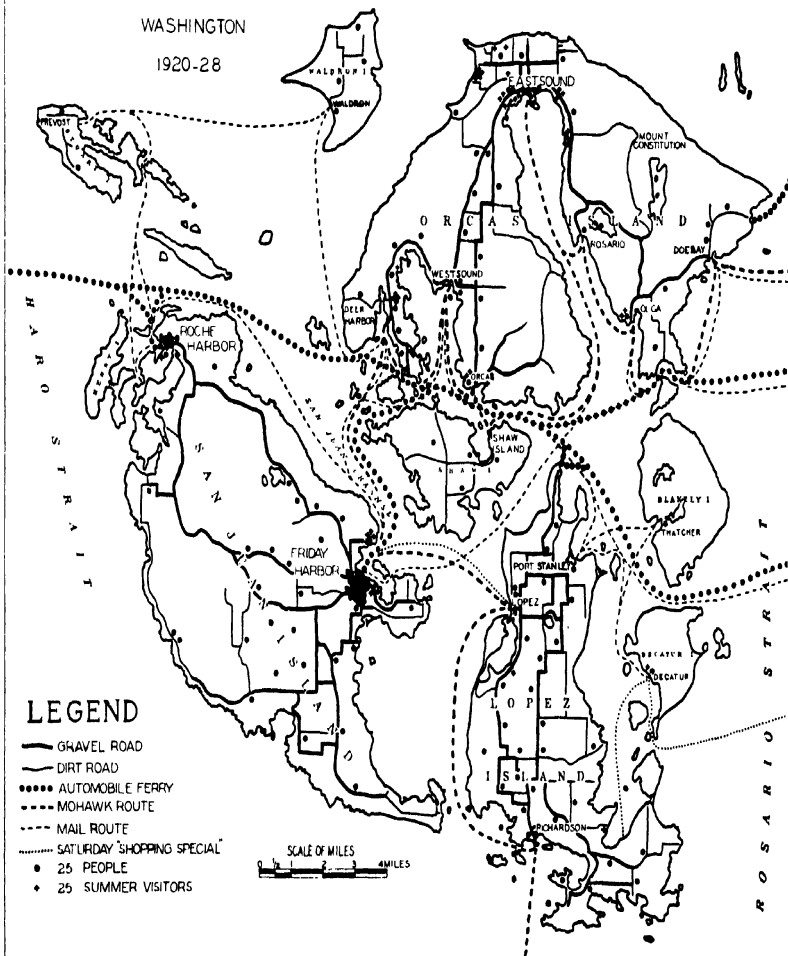
SCALE OF MILES
0 1 2 3 4 MILES

THE ISLAND-UNIT PATTERN

IN
SAN JUAN COUNTY

WASHINGTON

1920-28



cortes via the islands and returned on alternate days. After 1890 due in part to its location on the side of the Sound away from the railroads, Port Townsend declined in relative importance as a market town. On the other hand the railroads facilitated booms in Sehome (now part of Bellingham) and Anacortes and encouraged the growth of Seattle.

In response to this boat service and with the aid of the horse and wagon roads, nineteen landing places were built in the county (1901) each having at least a post office and on the larger islands usually also one or more general stores. This tendency on the part of islanders to tie up with some local boat-landing center is the characteristic that makes this a village pattern. The greatest centralization was at Friday Harbor, Roche Harbor, and East Sound, but this tendency was limited by the trail-like roads and the slowness of rowboat transportation. The round trip with cream by road from the neighborhood centering at Orcas to the village of East Sound, a distance of only sixteen miles, was a day's journey. Now the automobile makes it easily in three-quarters of an hour.

Since the steamers did not call at Waldron and Stuart Islands, mail was brought to them twice a week in a rowboat or sloop from points on the established mail routes. It was not until after 1905 that the "Northern Route" was started including these islands and it was then for the first time that "we could take a sack of potatoes over to the dock and ship them." Ethan Allen of Waldron Island claims to have rowed 10,000 miles during five years in the nineties when he was superintendent of schools in San Juan County at \$250.00 a year.

THE ISLAND-UNIT PATTERN

Map III shows the principal roads in the islands at the present time (1928) as indicated by the county engineer's blue print. In comparing this pattern with the previous one, it should be remembered that many of the less important roads are not shown on the blue print whereas the Coast and Geodetic Survey seems to have included every road no matter what its quality. It is probable that there were no gravel roads in the county in 1897.

The population distribution is based on the 1920 census and shows a striking similarity to that in the second pattern. The ten-

dency toward concentration in Friday Harbor, Roche Harbor, and East Sound is again noticeable with Friday Harbor showing the only increase of any significance. The most notable difference between the village and the island patterns is the change in integration. With the introduction of modern means of transportation and communication, services on the larger islands have tended to centralize in one village and the entire island has tended to become an economic and social unit tributary to the central village rather than divided into a series of more or less isolated clusters around small landing-place hamlets.

On the larger islands at the present time, and to an increasing extent on the smaller ones, the automobile has become the principal means of getting about. The number of cars registered at Friday Harbor increased from 88 in 1916 to 711 in 1926. Of the 711, 385 were registered from San Juan, 171 from Orcas, 154 from Lopez, and 1 from Shaw.¹⁵ With the automobile have come gravel roads and the tendency toward centralization. Island-wide consolidation and school buses have made possible four-year accredited high schools at Friday Harbor and East Sound. When Mr. Ethan Allen, referred to above, was superintendent of schools in San Juan county there were twenty district schools on San Juan and Orcas; now there are only six. In contrast with the church rivalry that characterized the second pattern—five churches on San Juan and three each on Orcas and Lopez—there is now but one resident pastor on each of the larger islands. R.F.D. routes serve the larger islands—two out of Friday Harbor and one each from East Sound and Port Stanley.

Map III shows the routes followed by the different types of passenger boats operating during the summer of 1928. The route, schedule, and service of the *Mohawk* is similar to that of the *Lydia Thompson* in 1901, but four mail boats replaced the *Buckeye* of the second pattern and their routes are arranged in such a way that each post-office in the county receives mail at least once a day. Saturday "shopping specials" operate between Lopez and Friday Harbor and between Mud Bay and Anacortes via Decatur. The biggest

¹⁵ Since on three of the outlying islands 1927 licenses were also used in 1928, the registration of automobiles is not in all cases complete. It is interesting that three out of every five cars are Fords.

difference between the boat transportation of the two periods, however, is the daily automobile ferry service beginning in 1923 between both Anacortes and Bellingham and Sidney, B.C. Although this service has been for only six months of the year, with the exception of a small year-round ferry between Orcas Island and Lummi Island, word comes as this paper is being written that a large ferry will operate this winter (1928-29) between Anacortes and Friday Harbor. To use the language of the San Juan County Commercial Club "the archipelago is on a main automobile highway."

To the owner of a small launch—and there are perhaps fifty of them in the county—the contrast between the use of his "put-put" and rowing is almost as great as between walking and driving a car. These small gasoline and Diesel launches seem to have had the effect of accentuating the centralization at Friday Harbor and Roche Harbor. Friday Harbor has the only bank, creamery, weekly newspaper, Ford agency, motion-picture theater, and drug store in the county and tends to draw trade from Shaw, Lopez, and Orcas as well as from San Juan. The company store at Roche Harbor not only serves employees in the lime works, but also draws from Henry and Stuart Islands.

These improvements in land and water transportation have tended to integrate the islands more closely with the surrounding region. Orcas, Shaw, Waldron, and Stuart Islands seem to be a part of the Bellingham trade area while Lopez and Decatur Islands belong to Anacortes. In addition to its local markets, San Juan Island patronage is for the most part divided between Bellingham and Seattle. Although Bellingham has the advantage of proximity and Seattle of regional dominance, Friday Harbor merchants also buy supplies from Spokane and Portland. This closer integration has also encouraged a flood of visitors during the summer months—tourists, boy and girl campers, biological students, excursionists, yachtsmen, relatives of native islanders. An estimate of the number and distribution of the tourists, campers, and students is shown on the accompanying map.¹⁶ The concentration of this summer population on Orcas Island is an obvious point.

¹⁶ Although the summer population at any one time during the "season" is about 1,175 as indicated on Map III, probably 5,000 people spend vacations in the islands during the course of one summer.

As early as 1885 Watson C. Squire, Governor of Washington Territory, wrote in his message to the Legislative Assembly: "The scenery (of San Juan county) is beautiful and the various islands are attaining prominence as summer resorts." The first summer visitors seem to have been family "tenting" parties. The present site of the Seattle Y.M.C.A. Summer Encampment on Orcas Island started in 1902, was a favorite camping ground for the Colman family of Seattle and is still owned by them. East Sound House, the first resort in the county, was established in 1891 and by 1901 another resort, the West Sound House, was in operation. The numbers that were entertained in these early resorts and in others that followed them were comparatively small, their stay was longer and there was a larger proportion of families with children than at present. With the improvement of transportation and the pinch of necessity brought about the decline of the fruit industry—and this was especially true of Orcas Island where the ruggedness that discouraged agriculture attracted tourists¹⁷—the number of resorts and summer visitors increased. At the present time the automobile tourist predominates, children are relatively fewer, and the average length of stay considerably shorter. Farmers who own beaches on Orcas Island dream about the resorts they are going to establish and storekeepers talk about a golf course and an automobile road up Mt. Constitution.

¹⁷ Lopez Island with better agricultural land has fewer attractions for the tourist and San Juan Island has only two resorts, one of which caters mostly to excursions. The Puget Sound Biological Station located near Friday Harbor had a summer population in 1927 of 114.

AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION IN RELATION TO RURAL BEHAVIOR

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ABSTRACT

The age and sex distribution of the population in a group appears to be a vital force in conditioning its action. The work in which the employed residents of villages are engaged has a distinct relationship to the size of the families and the distribution of age and sex. In villages where the older people predominate and control the group, action is standardized, lacks spontaneity, and is usually conducted by one of the institutions or well-recognized organizations. A high percentage of people whose ages are fifty and above in a village is conducive to conflict. The fact that the older ages predominate among the farmers of New York but do not in the Middle West may account for the radical tendencies among farmers in the latter section and lack of it in the former.

The sociologist is unceasingly concerned with the "why" of group action. Any one working in the field of sociology recognizes many conditioning and determinative factors which help answer the question suggested.

The concern of this paper is with the distribution of sex and age in relation to the action of certain selected rural groups; the groups are largely villages ranging in size from approximately one hundred to a thousand. The conclusions are based upon findings which are by-products of studies already completed and yet in process conducted by and under the direction of members of the Department of Rural Social Organization, Cornell University.¹ The facts presented are designed to prove nothing; they are offered as findings brought to light in the course of sociological research. The data are handled under three main heads: (a) age and sex distribution as determined by the function of a group, (b) age and

¹ B. L. Melvin and Gladys M. Kensler, *A Sociological Study of the Village of Dryden, New York*; B. L. Melvin and Glenn A. Bakkum, *Social Study of Slaterville and Brooktondale Area*. Both in process of publication by Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station. Raymond E. Wakeley, *Social Areas of Schuyler County, New York*, Ph.D. Thesis Cornell University Library.

sex distribution and group action, and (c) age and sex distribution and rural movements. These are considered in the order named.

AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION AND GROUP FUNCTION

Size of Family.—The particular residential function of a village influences the size of the family. The village which is located in a farming area, the inhabitants, which if employed, are working at some occupation directly related to agriculture, is composed of small families. The average size of the family in D, a village of 687 in the dairy section of New York, was 2.6 in 1925. Of the 240 families of the village, 54 had one person and 95 two persons. To put it another way 62 per cent of all the families had only one or two members. In another village with a similar surrounding environment, population 229, the average size of the family was 2.3, and 71 per cent of the families had only one or two members.

A few statements regarding the average size of the family in New York state afford a basis for comparison. The average for the state in 1920 was 4.2 assuming that everybody belonged in a family. The average for the county, in which are the two villages just mentioned, was 3.6 and for the total rural population of the same was 3.5 in 1920, while for the open country population of this county the average was 3.2 in 1925.²

Returning to a comparison of the villages, we find the industrial having larger families than the agricultural. In one industrial village, which has developed about a salt plant, the average family was 4; while in a second, which has grown up around a cement factory, the average was 4.5.

The satellite village, or suburban, which is contiguous to Ithaca compares favorably with the industrial village in the average size of its families. One village of this kind, which is largely composed of college professors, has an average of 4 persons per family.

Age and Sex Composition of New York.—The presentation of a few facts regarding the distribution of population according to sex and age in New York state provides a comparative basis for the following information of the paper. Of the total population in the state in 1920, 27.8 per cent were fourteen years of age or be-

² The data from this point on are based on figures taken from the State Census of 1925 excepting where otherwise specified.

low, 55.5 per cent were from fifteen to forty-nine, inclusive, and 16.7 per cent were fifty and above. Of the total fifty or above, the males formed 8.2 per cent and the females 8.4 per cent. Furthermore for every 100 males in the total population there were 100.2 females. The ratio of males to females fifty years of age and above was 100 to 102.6.

Function of Villages and their Population Composition.—The special occupation at which the employed inhabitants of a village work, exercises a telling influence upon the sex and age composition. The agricultural village of 687 already mentioned had, in 1925, a ratio of 100 males to 128.8 females. Of its total population 37.4 per cent were fifty years of age or above. (This over against the 16.6 per cent in the total population of the state belonging to that age); and the males and females of this age group constituted 15.8 per cent and 21.6 per cent respectively of the total population. The industrial village varied widely from this; the ratio of males to females was 141.8 to a 100; only 12.4 per cent of the total population was fifty years of age or above, with 8.1 per cent of the total males and 4.2 per cent females. This may be an extreme case since the population is largely composed of foreign born and the children of foreign born. In the satellite village of university people there were 123.1 males to each 100 females; and only 15.9 per cent of the total population was fifty years of age or above with the percentage being almost equally divided between males and females in this age grouping.

POPULATION COMPOSITION AND GROUP ACTION

An examination of the relation between the age and sex composition of a population and group action involves (a) an analysis of the characteristics of the group activities and controls in villages where a disproportionately large number of the total population is fifty years of age and above, (b) an examination of the shifting of activities which has accompanied a change in the age groupings, and (c) a comparison of two villages one of which is maintaining its place against the competition of a larger center and the other not.

Characteristics of the Group Activities.—Two villages, one with the population of 687, used above, and the other having 955 inhabitants, have been studied to determine their special character-

istics regarding the group activities. In 1925, 37.4 per cent of the population of the smaller and 37.2 per cent of that of the larger were fifty or above. Also the number of women in this age grouping was larger than the number of men.

The older people control practically all the institutional and organizational activities in both, excepting the functions which the school promotes. Social and recreational affairs are well regulated, they are carried on through the formalized lodges or semi-formalized clubs. The Masonic and I.O.O.F. lodges and their sister organizations are strong forces in both villages. However, open nights or programs which are primarily social are rarely held. A description of a few clubs helps further to tell the story. The Casserole Club in the smaller village is a social organization composed of thirty women who are among the older residents. The members meet occasionally for a Casserole supper at which each member brings a dish. The women usually invite their husbands; the chief form of amusement is eating and talking. In the same village is a needle club the primary function of which is promoting social life. Eighteen women, an exclusive group of older residents, compose its membership. Each member has the meeting once a year, entertaining with a luncheon after which the afternoon is spent in sewing. While studying this particular village, I thought I had made a real discovery when I was told that there existed a club known as the H.O.T.C. On further investigation I found that such an organization existed; that it was made up of women who were girls in the nineties, and the initials meant the "High Old Time Club."

The larger of the two villages has three important social and semi-social organizations besides the lodges; the W.C.T.U., the Women's Literary Society, and the Jolly Twelve. Perhaps the strongest of these is the W.C.T.U. which has a membership of sixty. This group of women meet regularly once a month; they held prayer meetings just prior to the elections, pleading for the success of Hoover, but their chief function for the last few years has been to drive one bootlegger out of business making it possible for another to thrive. In doing this the local group bought a lot and thereby prevented a certain man from running a pool room and selling

"booze" in that particular place. The whole procedure, to put it in the words of the W.C.T.U. president was "funnier than a goat."

The Women's Literary Society is a cultural and social organization composed of twenty members. It meets once a month; the programs are planned a year in advance. Its membership is exclusive; only within the last year or two a woman of the village was "blackballed" which made for severe dissension among the members; but to no avail. Indeed, this organization had its inception some years ago when the men of the old Chautauqua Club did not give the women a chance to talk as much as they desired.

When I heard of the Jolly Twelve I thought this must be a social organization composed of young women but when I visited one of the officers, to my disappointment here was a matronly lady well over fifty. The Jolly Twelve is an old ladies' organization and through it, the minority, the young people of the village, find no means for social and recreational life.

The churches attempt to provide means for social and recreational activities more than do any organizations in these villages. However, when the church dominates, social and recreational life necessarily follows a regulated and routinized path. Thus when I asked two young men what existed in the village for the young people to do, they answered spontaneously and in unison "Not a damn thing." The general situation is further shown by the events of one Sunday night. The only church service in the village was conducted by a representative of the Lord's Day Alliance who harangued for an hour against Clarence Darrow, Rupert Hughes, and Al Smith, and not over four young people were at the church services. At the same time at least a dozen young people were fifty miles away attending a city theater.

Social and recreational life in the village where age dominates is institutionalized, routinized, formal, and patronizing.

Change in Age and Activities.—A question logically to follow the last few remarks is, What characterizes the activities of a group where those of fifty and above are not so predominantly in the ascendancy? Taking the smaller village of the two from which the illustrations above were drawn, we find in 1875 that approximately one-fourth or less of its population was fifty or above. Also about

50 per cent were in the productive ages from fifteen to forty-nine inclusive.³ From the newspaper of 1879, which is the nearest to 1875 available, we gather that the social and recreational activities were spontaneous, little routinized and, though frequently held under the auspices of an institution or organized group like the lodge or church, they had few formalized aspects. During the year 1879, the three lodges held meetings once a week as did the Young Men's Literary Association. Dances were held once a week at the village hotel part of the year. Besides the regular meetings just mentioned, the following quotations from my notes as taken from the newspaper on the happenings in November, 1879, reveal the spontaneity in the recreational life of that date. "Comedy Company November 13, at Town Hall," "Lecture and Sociable at M. E. Church," "Young People's Association and Sociable," "Entertainment by the children of the Presbyterian Church at Town Hall on November 21; this is known as the Corn Festival," "Young people of Presbyterian Church have Sociable Thanksgiving Eve." The issue of October 7, 1879, shows further the spontaneity in activities at that time. "The pedestrian craze has reached D; the gatherings of young men and boys are seen on our streets nightly 'rejoicing as strong men to run a race.'"

Comparison of Two Villages.—The influence of age upon the group activities is further shown by a comparison of two villages, one having a population of 350, the other 364; both are incorporated in farming areas and located in the same county. One is somewhat nearer the county seat than the other but I do not believe this is sufficient to account for the great differences in the social and recreational activities. The age distribution may be the result of the competition with the larger place. The one that shows to a disadvantage is described first.

The total population of the village of B is 350; 41.1 per cent is fifty years of age or above. The village is incorporated and needs only a banking service to make it a complete community center.⁴

³ These estimates are based on the State Census of 1875.

⁴ The information regarding this village and the village of O is taken from "The Social Areas of Schuyler County, New York," a Ph.D. Thesis by Raymond E. Wakeley. Now in Cornell University Library.

Five years ago the high school had a very large service area, but now it is one of the smallest and since it is only a two-year high school, it is likely soon to cease functioning. The grange and farm bureaus are the strongest organizations of the village and draw their constituency from a wide territory. The grange recently built a \$20,000 hall on one of the main corners of the village. The building is used as a community hall. High-school social functions, and public dances are regularly conducted in it as was a Chautauqua in 1927. It is an open question if the grange can remain a strong and vigorous organization; conflict over dancing now prevails within it. A local leader stated that the young married women as a class did not belong to any organizations in the village. The men's club is rather inactive and the local firemen became inactive socially when the grange built the hall.

In contrast to the village of B is O which has a population of 364 with only 31.7 per cent of the total fifty years of age or above. This is a complete service center. The growth of educational institutions in O has been one of its most noticeable developments. The high school had the first courses in agriculture and homemaking which were taught in the county. Because of the popularity of these courses, the service area of the high school has become larger, and due to effective leadership the number and kind of student activities has increased.

The high school social program consists of school socials, parties, dances, and a school play which is given in most of the larger village centers of the county. The band, orchestra, and glee clubs form the basis for all high school events and many other affairs of the village.

People of the area are enthusiastic supporters of the high school athletic teams. Much of the athletic equipment is donated and local people lend their cars to transport the teams on their trips away from the village.

A parent-teacher association was begun in 1926. It is not generally known just how it started since it appears to have arisen spontaneously. Besides carrying on its own activities, it promoted and yet sponsors a girl scout troop.

The boy scout troop is sponsored by the local post of the American Legion and works in close co-operation with that organization, caring for the flags and marching in parades.

The American Legion post owns the community hall which was purchased for the legion by popular subscription. . . . The Legion charges only a nominal fee for the use of the hall and most events of a public nature are held there. Dances, community parties, and high school events held in the hall are the

chief social attractions for the people of the surrounding territory. The legion holds an annual fair and cooperates with the firemen in an annual community picnic and celebration on Labor Day.

The volunteer fire company has rooms in the community hall. They hold an annual community banquet and dance.

The American Legion, the high school, the boy scouts, the girl scouts, the 4-H Club, and parent-teacher association are responsible for the mass of social programs which provide more events of a general or community nature than obtain in any other centers of Schuyler County. (In this county are two other incorporated villages, the county seat, and sixteen unincorporated villages.) Of the total organizational activities promoted in the county, 21 per cent are sponsored in the village of O.⁵

Population Composition and Conflicts.—Where age predominates in a locality, a condition conducive to conflict appears to be prevalent. V is an unincorporated village of 86 with 32 of the 86 fifty or above. Conflict rather than co-operation is the customary action. Two subjects of contention are now in the ascendency. The men of the village, most of whom belong to a men's club, lately purchased a fire engine, and stored it in the old horse shed which belonged to the church. The men who were active in the purchase want it stored in one end of the shed while some of the members of the church want it in the other. The second subject for conflict regards the dishes which are the property of the men's club and the local home bureau, and are kept in the kitchen of the church. When the dishes were first purchased the Ladies' Aid was asked to co-operate in paying for them but refused. Later they wished to contribute but the offer was rejected. At present the women composing the Ladies' Aid are angry at the men because the last time the men used the dishes they left litter in the church. In turn the men tell the women if they do not like it the dishes will be taken from the church.

The village of M has a population of 161 of which 37.8 per cent are fifty years of age or above. In this village conflict dominates. Not many years back it was generally agreed by the people of the

⁵ Social Areas of Schuyler County, New York, Raymond E. Wakeley, Ph.D. Thesis 1928. Cornell University Library.

village that there was need for a piano in the grange hall. The home bureau gave an entertainment raising money to be used for the purchase of the same. This money was placed in the keeping of a woman who was a member of the home bureau and also of the Cornell Study Club, another organization of the village. However, this did not please the other members of the latter organization which caused a conflict over whom should be the custodian of the money. Eventually the money was used in providing an oyster supper for the organization that had first raised it. This is only an incident; strife prevails between the churches. A local informant stated:

The men would get along all right but when a man comes back from a meeting with a certain group and his wife quarrels with him about going there, he doesn't keep on going there very long. There is a class of women around here, most of them without children, who don't have anything else to do but stir up trouble.⁶

A third example of conflict is found in the village of M which has a population of 125, 48.1 per cent of whom are fifty years of age or above. This village is in the midst of a farming area in process of abandonment. Some years ago a community church was formed in the village by uniting the Baptist, Presbyterian, and Methodist. Likewise a community dance hall was established. Conflict arose. The dance hall came to be attended only by people outside the community, and the emotional Baptists withdrew from the community church establishing a church organization of their own. The dance hall was closed about the time the Baptist church was re-established. Probably the nature of the activities of this church established an approved form for the emotional outlet of the local people.

Do the older people acquire dislikes, hold them, and in turn, create tensions in the community which any small incident may incite and cause conflict? The theory of this paper answers in the affirmative. It is hoped that further research may prove or disprove the hypothesis.

POPULATION COMPOSITION AND RURAL MOVEMENTS

Within the last few years all students of rural affairs have been interested in movements especially strong among rural people.

⁶ Wakeley, *op. cit.*

Among these movements are the Ku Klux Klan, political agitation, spread of the farm bureau, and the consolidation of schools. One general characteristic seems to prevail in the time and force of these movements as respects the Middle West and New York state; the Middle West is first.

The consideration of movements is merely hypothetical; it is offered only as suggestions. It is believed that age groupings have something to do with virility of rural movements as they have been in operation in different sections of the country.

The Ku Klux Klan.—The Ku Klux Klan which has found its strength among rural people arose, had its heyday, and began to decline before it struck with full force in New York.

To take a personal experience, the Ku Klux Klan was at the peak of its force in central Ohio when I left that region in the fall of 1923. Within one to two years later it reached New York state; and it is yet quite active in some sections.

The Farm Bureau.—The farm bureau movement has taken on various shades and complexions in different regions. The primary impetus in its phenomenal spread in the Middle West was economic, while in New York it has always been more educational than anything else.

Political Radicalism.—The radicalism of the farmers in North Dakota and Iowa is well known. It has been a constant puzzle for the last five years to know why those of New York are complacent. It looks as though there is something inherent in the situation other than merely economics. They are staunch Republicans, believe in voting straight.

The Consolidation of Schools.—The movement for the consolidation of schools spread like an epidemic some years ago among the rural people of the Middle West. The primary conflict in these regions was not about the building or not building, but where should the centralized building be located. Do the rural people of New York believe in the consolidation of schools? For anyone to come into disfavor with them, he need only advocate such an absurdity.

Does the age composition of the rural people have anything to do with these rural movements? Information on the age distribution of the population of the Middle West is limited but what is

available suggests that age is a factor. Using only the farm population for comparison, we find that 28.0 per cent in New York, 11.1 per cent in Missouri, 12.7 per cent in North Dakota are fifty years of age or above.⁷

CONCLUSION

The position taken and theory presented in this paper are not intended to be final, nor are they promulgated to give a full explanation of any of the facts presented. It is believed that age and sex distribution does play a part in conditioning and determining the action of groups, as indeed do the cultural level, traditions, and economic status. Accordingly these facts are offered to add one more ray of light to help explain sociological phenomena.

⁷ These figures based upon "*Farm Population of Selected Counties*, Bureau of the Census.

DIVISION ON STATISTICS

SELECTIVE RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

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ABSTRACT

This paper gives a short history of attempts which have been made to show that migration between rural and urban districts selected individuals on the basis of certain innate physical, mental, or social characteristics, and gradually led to the depletion of the farmer-peasant class. It shows that the data, which are numerous and extensive, do not bear out such a conclusion, and finally concludes that as far as innate characteristics are concerned, the most reasonable hypothesis of selection is chance or random selection. Such a conclusion does not, of course, affect the selection by age or sex or, probably, order of birth within a family. The result of such a conclusion is that many of the theories of rural sociology and of sociology proper, as they apply to this topic, will have to be revised. If there is a correlation between urbanization and the depletion or ruin of a population or a culture, it will have to be explained by variables other than those depending upon innate or inherited characters. It is suggested that the rural sociologists should attempt to find and to analyze these other variables. Six statistical methods for testing this theory of chance migration are suggested.

Actual studies of migration, which attempt to find if such migration, with special reference to urbanization, were selective of any one innate type to the total or proportional exclusion of other types, began in Europe the latter part of the 19th century. These were brought about by interest in the great number of rural-urban migrants, a phenomenon of importance in Europe some time earlier than in America, and by the problem of migration overseas. Within recent years there has been a revival of interest in such studies in Europe, as indicated by specific studies in England and Italy, and the studies of international migration by the League of Nations. Furthermore, such studies are beginning in America. Numerous commissions have been organized to study immigration to the United States. An example is the study by H. Jerome for the National Bureau of Economic Research. There have been numerous monographs about the northward migration of the Negroes

and studies of migrations of farmers. In America at the present time, we have numerous forces which tend to bring the problem of migration to the forefront: these are the attempts to limit immigration; the declining national rôle of agriculture; the actual decrease of the rural population and of the population on farms; the migrations of the Negroes northward; the increased mobility of our society; and the development of research in rural problems by the Purnell agencies generally. This paper attempts to give a general summary of what has been done before on this problem, to outline some hypothetical results and suggest a few new procedures in research methods.¹

These studies may be divided into two types based upon whether or not the research was directed primarily at the problem of migration or whether the conclusions concerning migration were developed to explain rural-urban differences in certain physical or social characteristics. Illustrations of studies which given conclusions concerning migration in order to explain certain rural-urban differences are the original anthropometric study by Otto Ammon, later studies by the psychologists in rural-urban differences in intelligence tests, economic studies of the supposed differences in rural-urban per capita incomes, sociological studies of the origin of the élite and members of distinguished classes, and certain studies of trends in rural-urban death rates in which unstandardized data have usually been used.² Studies which have dealt directly with the problem of rural-urban migration as a major or partial interest of the project include the later studies by Ammon, those of G. V. de Lapouge, some of those of R. Livi and Llewellyn H. Smith (see Booth's "Poverty," *Life and Labour of the People of London*,

¹ Part of the conclusions given here represent the joint result of researches summarized in P. Sorokin and C. Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural Sociology* (Henry Holt & Co., 1929), and must be recognized as joint conclusions of both authors. Some of the other results represent the specific studies of the writer in his researches as a member of the Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station Staff.

² See O. Ammon, "Histoire d'une Idée," *Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, 6 (1898), pp. 145 ff; numerous psychological studies summarized in Sorokin and Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural Sociology* (H. Holt & Co., 1929), economic and mortality studies reviewed in it, and numerous studies of the origin of the élite and distinguished persons.

Vol. III, "First Series"); a number of other smaller studies and the recent specific studies of A. B. Hill for England, Livio Livi for Italy, and C. C. Zimmerman for Minnesota.³

Migration studies may also be classified according to the methods used for measuring the innate factors of the individual in order to determine whether or not migration is selective. The most common or accepted method is to use data which directly concern the physical qualities of the individual such as the absence or presence of physical defects, superior or inferior rankings on physical measurements, type and size of head, color and pigmentation; general death rates, longevity, and the death rates for specific ailments such as tuberculosis or stillbirths which are supposed to represent a closer approximation to innate factors. All of these measures assume a correlation between genius, or generally superior innate capacity, and the relative presence or absence of these physical or biological traits. Some of the studies give the relative presence or absence of these traits in the upper and lower classes, or in the occupational hierarchy, as proof that they have definite functional relationships with greatness or mediocrity. Others assume that studies already made have established the relationship between general ability and the relative prevalence or lack of these physical traits. To give an illustration, Hill does not attempt to prove that phthisis is related to innate general ability of the population but assumes that this is true from the studies of others and uses it as a check on the types of selectivity in the migration from Essex to London over the period 1860 to 1920. Ammon, on the other hand, found greater longheadedness, tallness, and blondness among the upper strata of the population than among the lower, before he attempted to use these measures for the study of migrations. In a similar manner, the psychologists had established differences in in-

³ See O. Ammon, *Die Natürliche Auslese und Die Gesellschaftsordnung*; G. V. de Lapouge, *Les Selections Sociales*; R. Livi, *Anthropologia Militaire*; L. H. Smith, "Poverty," *Life and Labour*, Vol. III; A. B. Hill, "Internal Migration," etc., Special Report Series 95, *Medical Research Council* (London, 1925); L. Livi, "Emigrazione ed Eugenetica," *Atti del Primo Congresso Italiano di Eugenetica Sociale* (1924); C. C. Zimmerman, et al., "Migrations to Towns and Cities," *Journal of Farm Economics*, Vol. X, No. 4, October, 1928; *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1926, and July and September, 1927.

telligence quotients between the upper and lower urban classes, and the upper and lower farm classes, before they attempted to generalize concerning the effects of migration as a causal factor in rural-urban differences in ranking or intelligence scores.

A second series of traits used for measuring the innate factors in the population has been a group which may be called psychical and social. These include rural-urban differences in the rankings upon intelligence tests; differences in the relative number of great men or *élite* produced within a country; differences in the per capita income or wealth accumulation; differences in contributions to the disfranchised and abnormal classes such as criminals, suicides, insane, mentally diseased, drug addicts, alcoholics, paupers, etc.; differences in the rate or mobility of social climbing by the respective groups when placed in common environments such as urban high schools, colleges, or universities, or in urban economic life generally; differences in the achievements in specific lines of work such as arithmetic or language subjects in school or practical and artistic types of economic work generally; and many others.

First of all, let us survey the results of these previous studies and attempt to formulate some general conclusions as to the types of selectivity exercised by cities. Then let us suggest a few further lines of investigation which may be used to check the validity of the conclusions reached.

Before giving the results of studies of innate selectivity, two points need to be kept clearly in mind. First, urbanization is certainly selective of age groups—migration beginning as a rule about adolescence and declining or being replaced by a greater reverse migration at the ages of forty years or above. This is a general tendency which varies considerably from time to time and in different countries. However, on the whole it is a constant phenomenon. Second, migration to cities is ordinarily selective of females in preference to males. The females ordinarily commence the migration from three to five years younger than the males, reach a peak and decline in significance at ages somewhat earlier than those of the males. In this respect, several cautions must be made. Long distance migration, or migration from country to country or overseas, ordinarily selects more males than females; certain types of

cities, depending upon the types of occupations most highly developed within them, select and have selected more males than females; and, further, there may be other factors than migration to cities which affect the proportions of males or females within any specific city. Fluctuations in the sex ratios among the live-births are factors in the sex ratios of any city. This selection of "females" is not as constant a factor as age selectivity.⁴ Finally, these rules are merely empirical regularities and are affected by changes in certain factors such as wars, revolutions, catastrophes, migration restrictions, and changes in communication and transportation.

PHYSICAL EVIDENCES OF SELECTION

An analysis of several hundred studies which give data as to the physical characteristics of rural and urban peoples enables the following conclusions to be drawn. There is no valid evidence to show that stature, weight, build, chest circumference, shape of head, size of head, cephalic index, cranial capacity, pigmentation, age of pubescence or maturation, as such, are factors in rural-urban selection of a population. On the whole, there are no significant or permanent differences between the rural and urban populations in these respects. What differences do exist are slightly in favor of the rural population. Temporary differences from country to country and city to city are most likely explained by the theories of Rudolphi Livi, that cities are composed of populations selected from large distances.⁵ Consequently, on the whole, cities in short statured populations will tend to average taller than the surrounding country. Illustrations may be gathered from the recent recruit data of Holland.⁶ Cities in tall statured populations will tend to average shorter than the surrounding country. An illustration is Scotland.⁷ Other physical and social characters often vary the same way and for the same incidental reasons.

⁴ It is worthwhile to indicate that E. R. Groves' theory that sex selectivity by cities was primarily due to the presence or absence of machine and handwork in agriculture, possesses little foundation. See E. R. Groves, *The Rural Mind and Social Welfare*.

⁵ As given in his *Anthropologia Militaire*.

⁶ See *Jaarclijfers Voor Nederland* (1924).

⁷ See *Medical Science Research Council*, study of school children, 1922.

Further physical stigmata used for the study of this problem are the data gathered in the comprehensive studies of recruits, physical examinations of school children, total death-rates, age and sex group death-rates, infant mortality (including stillbirth rates), and the predominant diseases of the city and country populations. We cannot go into the dangers and pitfalls which arise in the utilization of such data as these, the necessity for standardization, and the different results and conclusions reached by various authors with unstandardized or local data. However, on the whole, these data concerning vitality do not give any evidence in favor of "selective" selection by the cities or vice versa.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF PSYCHICAL AND SOCIAL
TRAITS AS PROOF OF SELECTIVE SELECTION

The psychological tests, when classified according to the size of the community, show ordinarily for England and America that the larger communities have higher ratings, although these tests have not generally, in one comparison, covered the whole range of communities from smallest to largest. When these psychological tests are arranged according to occupational categories (the Taussig Barr hierarchies) they indicate that much of this apparent higher rating of the larger communities is due to the lumping of the children of the upper classes with those of the lower classes, and that this fictitious average happens to be higher than either the rural average or that of the smaller community. On the whole, when proper allowance is made for sampling, the farmers rank between semi-skilled and skilled laborers. This suggests that any rural-urban migrant, which is a person of the limited capacity of an unskilled or semi-skilled laborer, does not lower the innate capacity of the farm group. On the other hand, migrants with capacities above those of skilled laborers will have a dysgenic effect upon farm life if they are not counterbalanced by a proportionate migration from the lower classes.

When we returned from these psychological tests to measures which approximate closer to reality and to the real achievement of the farmer group, such as achievements in schools where they are on an equal competitive basis with urban children; ability in spe-

cific school subjects (as evident of the possibility of selection of "mental" types); relative contributions to the élite and upper classes, to the feeble-minded, to the insane; or the relative validity of their general attitudes as agencies for accommodation to environment (as indicated by prevalence of suicides, communist or radical adherence or leadership, contributions to paupers or persons "retired with a competency"), the following conclusions are suggested. First, there are no proofs of a dysgenic selection by cities; second, there is evidence that the psychological tests underrate the average ability of the farmer-peasant class (this is probably due to the fact that the only common ground of measurement is the indirect experience of the two groups, and urban society itself is more a product of indirect experience than the rural); and third, many of the conclusions drawn in this field have been invalid because of the use of localized, selected, and unstandardized data. A good illustration of this latter is the series of conclusions concerning the greater prevalence of feeble-mindedness in the rural districts. This has been used as evidence that the brighter have migrated to the cities and that only the dullards are now left in the rural districts. The proof of this demands large samples of the feeble-minded, in which the institutional and non-institutional feeble-minded populations are added together, in which the definition of feeble-mindedness is based upon careful observation of medical specialists, and the application of these numbers as rates to the rural and urban populations standardized according to age and sex. Age and sex are especially significant in the prevalence of the feeble-minded. It is evident that rural populations with their generally greater prevalence of males and of children, should give greater crude rates for feeble-mindedness on that account alone. The only study which has attempted to approximate these conditions did not standardize the rates (British survey of feeble-minded in 1904). At the present time, there is no conclusive evidence that feeble-mindedness is greater in either district. The most probable hypothesis is that the incidence of feeble-minded, according to combined standardized rates, is about the same in the city and country.

In addition to the above evidences, there are a series of economic theories concerning migrations as movements from low in-

come occupations and communities to higher. Since cities are high income communities, and contain many of the high income occupations, it is ordinarily assumed that migrations from the country contain a greater proportion of the more enterprising. However, a series of factors condition these theories: first, the studies of rural and urban incomes have seldom made any allowance for differences in age distributions of the populations or cost of living and more expensive social standards in the city; second, they do not always allow for the lag, which keeps many persons in agriculture because of traditions, family ties, etc.; third, they do not allow for the attractiveness of agriculture as a way of life, to some extent divorced from the characteristics of a capitalist society, and having many virtues of its own; and fourth, there are a series of different conclusions concerning rural-urban migrations rising among the economists themselves. These are exemplified by the theoretical conclusions of Dr. Leon E. Truesdell, of the United States Census Bureau, and the confirmatory data gathered at Minnesota, which indicate that, to some extent, urbanization is a migration of extremes—men with exceptional ability who organize urban industry, and numerous others incapable of succeeding as managers of their own farms, who do best as wage earners under the guidance of the urban entrepreneurs and managers. The net conclusion is that economic theory on the whole does not unanimously favor any one type of selection.

Data as to the success of rural migrants in climbing the urban economic and social ladder have been used as evidence concerning this problem since the earlier work by Georg Hansen, Otto Ammon, H. L. Smith, and many others. Some have maintained that the lower classes in cities were primarily composed out of rural migrants; others have been equally certain that the lower classes in cities were the dregs of the urban classes, wasted by the city environment or produced by the differential fertility of city groups. Without going further into this problem, we are now rather certain that the urban classes, from the lowest to the highest, are composed both of native urban populations and of rural migrants of the first or second generations. There appears no evidence that the migration especially selects any specific types.

Neither do the data concerning achievements of rural and ur-

ban children in arithmetic, languages, or other school subjects give any indication that migration is selecting any specific mental type to the proportionate exclusion of others.

If we turn to special studies of migration, which seek to find by careful analysis if migration has been selective, the same lack of proof appears, oftentimes contrary to the conclusions of the authors. A. B. Hill argues from data concerning the general and phthisis death-rates (standardized by age and sex groups) for Essex compared with London, that the less differentials between London and Essex for the two sexes during the migratory ages (in some groups the rates for London are lower than for Essex, especially for the female sex) is proof of "selective" selection. He reinforces his study by a life table of migrants based upon less than 300 cases, which shows considerable evidence of non-random sampling. This life-table shows somewhat greater longevity than the general life-table of London. But Hill does not explain why, in spite of the migration of several hundred thousand persons to London from Essex during the past one hundred years, the rates for all deaths and for phthisis alone have declined more rapidly in Essex than in London, and why, relatively, health is much better in Essex now, compared with London, than it was in 1860, or why each decade has shown greater improvement in Essex than in London. Neither are his data borne out by other countries and other cities which, in spite of great migration to these cities, do not show the closer approach of the rural-urban death-rates during the migratory ages. Neither, do they explain why the upper age groups in London and Essex do not, in time, reflect this supposed greater innate capacity of the migrants. Our conclusion is that his thesis of dysgenic selection is not proved.

In a similar way, we maintain that Livio Livi's assumption that the diseased urban migrants return to the rural districts, so that the total rural-urban migration is dysgenic, is not proved. He attempted to measure the effect of overseas migration upon Italy and found that the provinces of great overseas migration were showing as good health and rated as well in vital and moral statistics as the other provinces, which were those of greatest urban migration. Now the accepted theory in Italy is that overseas migration is selec-

tive. In order to explain this apparent discrepancy between his findings and the popular theory, he maintains that the difference is due to the fact that urbanization is more dysgenic than overseas migration because the failures and diseased who migrate to cities, are able to return to the rural districts when the defect appears. Some evidence is given in proof of this statement, but it is not conclusive. It appears that Livi has assumed a dysgenic rural-urban net migration in order to explain the fact that health conditions in the provinces of greater overseas migration are in as good shape or better than the provinces of greater urban migration.

The Minnesota studies have indicated that there is little evidence of "selective selection" in the net rural-urban migration from the farms of Minnesota.

The net conclusion from all these data, which have been summarized in a rather categorical manner, is that, omitting the factors of age and sex, the most probable hypothesis of rural-urban migration is, on the whole, chance or proportionate selection. The net effect of migration does not appear to segregate any one physical type in the cities to any greater exclusion of others.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS CONCLUSION FOR SOCIOLOGY AND RURAL SOCIOLOGY

If this conclusion be true, it is very evident that a good many popular theories in many branches of sociology will have to be remolded, recasted, or thrown away. First, there is that whole series of catastrophic theories which tie the cyclical movements in the appearance, flowering, and decline of urban societies together with the selectivity of the natural talent from the rural districts and its wasting in the cities. This series of theories is very old, and has included as adherents some of the foremost names in social science. There may be a correlation between migration and mobility and the cyclical movements in urban societies, but if this theory of chance or random selectivity in physical migration be true, such a relationship does not exist on account of the rural-urban selectivity of innate physical types. Second, as sociologists we have failed to give the proper attention to the other characteristics of migration, and their significance in the interpretation of the character and

temperament of a people or in the forces and destiny of a nation, a society, or a civilization. The earlier studies of the "social map" of migration, as developed by E. G. Ravenstein, L. H. Smith, Karl Bücher and their followers the latter part of the nineteenth century have not been followed out in America. Too much of our migration studies have dealt with the numbers migrating, theories as to the migration of the "better" of "best," or the lack of social contacts in the country districts because the numbers of residents are few.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER TESTING OF THIS THEORY

In conclusion I wish to suggest a few procedures in method which will help to establish or overthrow this theory of chance selection. Obviously, competent and original investigators will develop many methods hitherto unheard of in the field of these investigations. First, any developments in statistical research which indicate the probable effect of innate factors in certain physical or social stigmata, somewhat similar to the studies of the Pearsonian school, will aid in the use of these traits for the measurement of the types migrating. Second, in the field of the use of these traits for studying migration, it is necessary that many studies be carried on in different districts. We already know from the early experience of Ammon and Lapouge, that conclusions based upon one district alone or upon similar districts may give just opposite results. Third, it is necessary at all times for the statistician who is pursuing these studies to use the most carefully standardized data. It may seem foolish to talk about the use of standardized data, but the experience of these studies has shown that the same errors of non-standardization of a peculiar type of data may be repeated over a period of many years. Standardization of rates for feeble-minded in rural and urban districts, based upon both the institutional and non-institutional population, is a good illustration. Fourth, it would be very valuable to repeat all the studies of comparative physical or bodily measurements of the urban, the rural, and the migratory populations, eliminating the factor of greater variation of the makeup of urban populations by making the comparisons with the rural populations from which the specific urban populations originated. Fifth, the whole series of theories

as to the urban social classes entered by the rural migrants, their social climbing in one generation and their destiny in the generations that follow have not been studied sufficiently. A series of studies should be devoted to this group of theories alone. After all, the real achievement of any population is the most realistic approach to their general ability and intelligence. Sixth, some analysis of this problem may be gained from a study of the closely related members of each familial group in country and city. This idea is being carried out in Minnesota at present. If order of birth, sex proportions of children, or size of family, other than the biological factors back of size of family, be factors in rural-urban selection, then less and less ground is left for the play of factors of innate physical selection. If members of the same closely related families be found in the same proportions in all urban classes, as well as in agriculture, this is rather conclusive evidence that selectivity of innate factors is unimportant. And lastly, the persons who are investigating these theories should at the same time gather data as to the other social effects of migration. These problems are interrelated; they can best be investigated as a unit; some additional data require very little extra time; and the investigations will have to be based eventually upon identical samples of rural and urban populations.

A FARM WELFARE STATISTICAL PROGRAM

J. O. RANKIN

ABSTRACT

Rural sociologists as a group must have a definite, clear-cut general statistical program. A five-fold policy is suggested as a starting point: (1) the continuation of the helpful federal and state work now under way, (2) its more complete utilization as a serviceable auxiliary, (3) its expansion to new items and new territory and to the separation of the farm population in the tabulation of data already being gathered and published, (4) the co-ordination of the welfare statistical work of the Census, the United States Department of Agriculture, and the various agricultural experiment stations and other research or statistical organizations, and (5) the proper research utilization of data gathered for administrative purposes and given to the reading public very meagerly or not at all.

We need that knowledge of social processes that will give us the same control in the social realm that men have acquired over nature. What this means, in the last analysis, is that all the social sciences must be put on a firm scientific basis, appropriate and reliable means of collecting data determined, the results co-ordinated and integrated, and then constructively applied to the organization and reorganization of society. Only as this is done will a mastery over the social environment be obtained comparable to that which advance in the natural sciences has given us over nature.

At present our social control is woefully unscientific.¹

We may doubt whether we can ever control man as we do nature without doubting Professor Hertzler's correctness in stating the need for a satisfactory factual and statistical basis for our science. If what he says is true even in part, the statistician is a most important spoke in the wheel of social progress and the establishment of the right long-time policy or program is most important to rural progress. A study just made seems to show that the rural sociology textbooks are based more largely upon statistical materials than those of any other social science using the term social science in its broader sense.

An adequate statistical basis is absolutely necessary, then, if rural sociology is to be satisfactorily scientific. There was almost

¹ J. O. Hertzler, *Social Progress* (New York: Century Co., 1928), p. 117.

no satisfactory statistical basis for the new social science which was to be when President Roosevelt appointed his Country Life Commission, in 1908. The new movement did not operate fast enough to affect the 1910 Census. The lower animals and inanimate property on the farms were carefully enumerated and minutely classified in the published reports. The Census Bureau did not even tell us how many human beings there were on farms in 1910. Dr. O. E. Baker, of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, made what was doubtless the best effort possible then to answer the question by manipulation of the figures which the Census furnished for the various counties.

During the next decade the developers of the new science were crystallizing and clarifying their ideas of its statistical needs and doing something to let those in charge know what they wanted.

The 1920 Census published the first population figures tabulated in such a way as to give us the farm population as separated from the non-farm population of the open country and the villages, towns, and cities of under 2,500 or under 10,000 as the case may be. It even tabulated by age groups. At that time a few other welfare items were included such as automobiles, telephones, water piped into the house, modern lighting, and improved road mileage. In 1925 the first quinquennial Census of Agriculture omitted all of these except population and reduced that to two age groups with ten years as the dividing line. It did, however, give the first nationwide county, farm, radio, and kinsman tenancy figures.

Viewed from some standpoints, this is splendid progress, especially when we consider that it has been accompanied by progress through the gathering of farm welfare statistics here and there by state bureaus, by agricultural experiment station surveys, and by the gradual extension of the registration area through more and more of the predominantly farm territory. All this progress is most gratifying, but with the usual impetuosity of youth the young science is demanding constantly more and more. It is time, however, for it to co-ordinate its efforts into an adequate and satisfactory national and state program. If every worker in the field and in related fields can have an adequately integrated vision of the objective and of the best means of obtaining it, humanity will be vastly better off.

The time has come for the rural sociologists to pool their resources more fully and definitely than ever before. They are now so numerous and vigorous that if they fail to do so, there will be wasteful duplication of effort and perhaps even a cross-fire that will divide their front and prevent them from convincing others that they really know what they want and that public welfare will be promoted by their program. In framing that program we must co-operate with the general and applied sociologists, the general and agricultural economists, and the workers in other related fields. Prominent among these other workers are the statisticians of the government, universities, and the commercial organizations such as insurance companies.

The other social sciences should have much to give and much to gain in an interchange of ideas. Perhaps they have long-time programs which will be good models for ours. If not, perhaps they need programs of their own interlocking and harmonizing with ours. Many of the problems involved are identical or closely similar, both academically and administratively.

A FIVE-POINT PROGRAM

"Want Ad" fashion we might announce, "Wanted: A farm welfare statistical program." The main features of the program should perhaps be (1) the continuation of the helpful federal and state work now under way, (2) its more complete utilization, and (3) its expansion to new items, new territory, and to the separation of the farm data in the tabulation of material already being gathered. Before elaboration upon these main items of the program let us add some others of only less importance. (4) The co-ordination of the welfare statistical work of such agricultural experiment stations and other similar organizations as have done anything of the kind, and (5) the proper research utilization of vast quantities of data gathered for administrative purposes and given to the reading public very meagerly or not at all. The last point may be well illustrated by the school records of enrollment, attendance, mental tests, health inspection, and census of children of school age.

1. The continuation of the helpful federal and state work now under way must be secured. It is always easier to hold ground al-

ready gained than to gain more. It is not safe to assume that even the most permanent national or state bureau will continue to collect a given item of information from year to year, biennium to biennium, or decade to decade, simply because that item has a place on the present working program of the bureau. We need to keep in constant touch with those who direct such work and give them the benefit of our information and opinion as to the value of the work. Nothing could be more natural than that a new official under the necessity of economy should save money by dropping an item for which nobody seems at the moment to care. This is doubtless less likely to occur in the national bureau than in those of such states as still have rapid rotation in office and the spoils system rather than the Civil Service.

2. The more complete utilization of the data now being supplied to us is one of the very best ways of showing the necessity for its continuation and expansion. Probably no other workers in the various fields of the social sciences make more liberal use of the simple statistical materials and methods than rural sociologists. An analysis of textbooks to be presented to another section shows that census and other similar materials are used to a much greater extent in the textbooks of rural sociology than in those in general sociology. Sometimes, however, the very use of the material comes in such a way as to indicate that the user is not very familiar with it or with its limitations. Now and then a writer is found who uses statistics labeled rural by their publishers and uses them in such a way as to give the ultimate reader the impression that they reflect farm conditions when they really include all village, town, and city population except the cities of over 10,000 inhabitants.

The textbook is only one of the great number of the outlets for these data. Many rural sociologists and general sociologists make much use of census and other statistical data in their research and near-research publications. In some cases the publications are hardly more than reassembled census figures bearing upon a particular state, county, or other geographical unit with some rather simple explanatory text. In other cases, state or federal census materials, or both, covering a long period of time have been brought together and interpreted in such a way that a really new contribu-

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tion has been made. In still other cases, research workers have checked and supported their own contributions of new statistical or other material by the aid of census figures.

3. Expansion to new territory, new items, and the separate tabulation of old items not heretofore separately tabulated for farm population will doubtless be rendered increasingly difficult by the imperative necessity for keeping taxes at the lowest possible level. Obviously any expansion must be very convincingly justified and strongly supported. On the other hand the necessity for certain expansions is quite obvious to any informed person. The registration area should be expanded as rapidly as possible. The birth certificates now include information on the occupation of the father, which makes possible a very satisfactory separation of farm from non-farm data in those counties in which this information is satisfactorily furnished. In some it is not. If we are to have any satisfactory separation of farm from non-farm death certificates, there must be a little revision, but not necessarily expansion, of the certificate used. The present form of certificate and manner of reporting makes satisfactory separation impossible. The occupation may be reported as "retired" without giving any way of knowing whether the deceased had ever been a farmer and, if so, whether farming was his main life occupation or only followed for a short period. It is impossible to tell whether he had retired from the farm or retired on the farm. The death certificate of a mature or elderly woman or indeed of any woman or girl of any age rarely or never gives any adequate clue or information as to farm or non-farm residence or to the occupation of the husband or other main source of income. A little revision of the certificates would make possible some much needed light upon farm and non-farm birth and death rates. Very similar things may be said with regard to the marriage and divorce situation. Still more difficult is the matter of illegitimacy. Where delinquency is involved it must doubtless often remain impossible to get satisfactory mass data, and special investigations must be relied upon, if the farm cases are to be separated.

Numerous other illustrations will occur to any statistical worker of great expansion of the farm welfare value of a report blank with little or no increased effort. That increased effort would fre-

quently, if not usually, begin at the tabulation point and be rather slight even there as compared with the total cost involved and extremely small as compared with the cost of getting the farm information separately. If we can show bureaus or organizations, as we often can, that a negligible change in form of report blank will greatly increase the research potentialities of the inquiry, it will often be possible to have the additional information secured even though the gathering agency never expects to make the tabulation itself, but only to permit some interested research agency to do so. Careful attention to this kind of co-operation will often greatly increase efficiency of the research dollar and may be a broader foundation for a fifth point in our program still to be discussed.

4. The co-ordination of the farm welfare statistical work of the various agricultural experiment stations and other research agencies is, perhaps, in many ways in a more satisfactory state of development than any other point in the program. It should not be overdeveloped to the point of leaving no opportunity for local or individual initiative or analysis. It should, however, be sufficiently strong and complete to insure leadership for those who need it and the dissemination of information to all with regard to the work of each, so that there will be no wasteful duplication of effort. Such information would seem to be pretty satisfactorily provided by the preliminary report on rural sociological research issued by the agricultural committee of the social science research council. The various agricultural experiment stations are inspected annually by a representative of the Office of Experiment Stations of the United States Department of Agriculture. When co-ordinators become so numerous, they need a super-co-ordinator to co-ordinate the co-ordinators. This function is pretty well performed by the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life in the United States Department of Agriculture.

5. The effective tabulation of data gathered primarily for administrative purposes is too often overlooked. Our Census, the world's greatest source of statistical data, is a great outstanding illustration of statistics gathered under a purely administrative requirement of the constitution but published and expanded with the most beneficial results. We are surrounded on every hand with gov-

ernmental and non-governmental agencies which gather extremely valuable information and then let it lie unused so far as many of its possible uses are concerned. Some of it is never tabulated or used at all; some is used for the mechanics of some administrative problems but might be made many times as useful by the addition of a little more effort to the great effort put forward in obtaining the basic data. We need a careful survey to locate these unused possibilities and those that are incompletely used to see what can be done about it. Portions of such a check list should be compilable from the bibliographies of state materials on agriculture, now being prepared by states, in the library of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Closely related and in many ways productive of much better results is another class of data. They are those collected not primarily for administrative purposes but for publication in statistical form without special reference to farm and non-farm division. The outstanding example is the special tabulation made from census and other schedules by the United States Department of Agriculture. Materials of this kind gathered primarily for statistical publication by very responsible agencies have the advantage of being more carefully collected and more reliable than materials from many other sources.

Vital statistics present another opportunity for supplementary tabulations. Under the third point, we have already discussed the expansion of tabulation by the original gatherers of the schedules to separate farm from non-farm data. It sometimes happens that this is not of interest to the original possessor of the schedules but that he is willing to have them used by the farm welfare statisticians. This is true of at least one state office of vital statistics and doubtless of many others. It has on hand Hollerith cards of birth certificates for a decade or so separable by occupation. Copies of these same certificates go to Washington for tabulation, where such cards are perhaps available for all the registration area. The farm classes are tabulated with all others living in the open country and cities and villages of less than 10,000 population. The presence of these cards in a particular state, however, gives a state research

man or farm welfare statistician a good opportunity to use cards already punched.

The details of this five-point program must be worked out with care as there are many difficult and debatable points. Doubtless neither this program nor any other will be unanimously adopted and practically and methodically carried out. To a very great extent, it is already being carried out either consciously or unconsciously. It is important that every worker in the field be in step with the needed program, and that he contribute all he can to a well-rounded, satisfactory body of farm welfare statistics as a foundation for our science.

THE CHANGING FAMILY

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ABSTRACT

Statistical evidence from various sources show that the family is declining in regard to the number of functions it performs, and that the affectional function is not performed satisfactorily in many cases. Many persons never form families. Broken families are frequent. The economic function has declined markedly. The recreational and protectional functions are small. So also is the educational functions. This movement is operating strongly at the present time, with few signs of slackening.

In this article there is presented a number of facts of a statistical nature that show changes in the family as a social institution in the United States. Some of these facts have been collected during the past years while others are the result of recent researches undertaken for this article. The collection of this material yields a very impressive picture of the family though, perhaps, a somewhat distorted one. These facts were not selected with any particular care that they be representative of all aspects of family life. Such facts were taken wherever they could be found whether representative or not. It was thought best to limit this article to a presentation of facts, leaving their interpretation to the reader.

INCOMPLETE FAMILIES

Not every adult today forms a family. Of the total number of men and women who had reached forty-five years of age in the United States in 1920, 1 in 10 (10.4 per cent)¹ has never married. There are of course very few people who marry after forty-five years of age for the first time. So high a percentage of single men and women is in marked contrast to the behavior of man in primitive society where the unmarried adult is all but unknown.² That about 1 out of every 10 persons never marries is in itself an inter-

¹ Groves and Ogburn, *American Marriage and Family Relationships*, p. 331.

² Franz Boas. *Anthropology and Modern Life*, p. 224.

esting comment on our human nature or else on our human institutions, as well as being a commentary on the scarcity of families. In the agricultural life of earlier times in America, there was not so large a percentage of those who had never married. There was a census taken in New Hampshire in 1773 which collected data from which it is possible to estimate perhaps rather accurately the percentage of women sixteen years old and over who were married at the time the census was taken. There were 66.7 per cent of the women over sixteen married.³ In 1920, the percentage was 63.7 per cent for the United States as a whole.⁴ The scarcity of marriage in modern times is further shown by the very probable fact that at the age period when most persons are found married only about 5 out of every 6 are married. For the age period from forty-five to fifty-four, when there are the most persons reported married, 1 out of every 5 males (19 per cent) is not married, that is, is single, widowed, or divorced; while for women for the age period of maximum marriage, thirty-five to forty-four years, also 1 out of 5 is not married. Of course more than 5 out of 6 have formed families, but the families have become broken by death, separation, or divorce.

There are thus a large percentage of broken families. This is most noticeable by the prevalence of widows for 1 in 10 (11.1 per cent) of all females over fifteen years of age are widows, while of those forty-five years of age and over about 1 in 6 are widows (15.3 per cent), and for those sixty-five years old between one-half and two-thirds of all women are widowed. The widowed men are about half as numerous.

Another bit of evidence regarding the proportion of homes that are broken comes from a special census study of Rochester, New York.⁵ Among all the women in Rochester in 1920 who have been married, and hence who may be said to have formed homes of some sort, the homes of 1 out of every 5 have been broken by death,

³ "Increase of Population in the United States," *Census Monograph* No. 1 (1910-20), p. 144.

⁴ Publications of the United States Bureau of Census. All statistics quoted are from this source unless stated otherwise.

⁵ Bertha M. Nienburg, *The Woman Home-Maker in the City*, Bureau of Census, Government Printing Office (1923).

separation, or divorce. These are all the homes taken as actually found and hence are for all ages. Rochester is probably not exceptional among our large cities.

City life which is greatly increasing as the years go by has a discouraging influence on the formation of families, marriage being discouraged about 10 per cent.⁶ And for the ages beyond twenty-five years, where the age distributions are the same, in the country 163 men out of 1,000 will never have been married while in the city there will be 206. The group of single in cities is thus about one-quarter larger. Among women over twenty-five years old, the group of women, single, in cities per 1,000 will be two-thirds larger than in country districts with the same age distribution. These facts are for the United States in 1920.

While there is a large percentage of single men and women today as compared with primitive life or as compared with earlier agricultural conditions, yet the percentage of the population single is now decreasing, for the percentage who have never married has declined from 36.9 per cent in 1890 to 35.3 in 1920 as measured when the age distribution is the same.⁷

THE AFFECTIONAL FUNCTION

Once the family is formed it is supposed to be the center of the affectional life as between husband and wife, parents and children, and among children and relatives. This is not so much the theory of the family on the continent of Europe, in the Orient, or among primitive peoples as it is in the United States. That the family is not always the center of the affectional life in the United States today is indicated by various facts. For instance, about two and one-half per cent (2.56 per cent) of all births were illegitimate.⁸ This proportion existed in 1926, a year when birth control information is said to have been very widespread in the United States. We do not have statistics of sexual intercourse, but the statistics of venereal diseases (like the statistics of illegitimacy) are indicative that sexual life is by no means confined to husband and wife, since

⁶ Groves and Ogburn, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 342-43.

⁸ *Statistical Abstracts of the United States* (1928), p. 86.

most venereal disease is contracted in illicit sexual contacts. In 1918-19 about 1 out of 18 men examined in the army had venereal diseases in varying degrees of intensity.⁹ Not all men who have sexual intercourse outside marriage contract venereal diseases, nor do such acts always result in the production of offspring, so that statistics of illegitimacy and of venereal diseases are low indices of illicit unions. Thus affection (of a sort) does take place to a considerable extent outside the limits of the family.

Once a family union is formed, that it does not always go well with affection is evidenced by divorce. The prevalence of divorce is very evident from the annual figures published by the United States Bureau of Census, showing the number of divorces and the number of marriages. In 1926 there were 10 divorces to every 66 marriages performed. Indeed, it is almost certain that of the marriages contracted in 1926 more than 10 in 66 will wind up in the divorce court. It may be as high a frequency as 1 in 5 if the divorce rate continues to increase.¹⁰ There are a good many husbands and wives that are separated though not divorced. In interpreting these facts it should also be remembered that many divorced persons remarry and may find a more satisfactory state of affection. However, according to the study of Rochester, New York, referred to previously, among all the married women of Rochester with husbands living, 1 in 17 were in reality separated from their husbands without being divorced or were divorced. Divorce and separation may separate a parent from a child as well as from a mate. Of the divorces granted in the United States only about one-third report that children are affected. However, in the Rochester study, a little over one-half (55 per cent) of the married women separated or divorced from their husbands had children. Separation or divorce mean the destruction of affection, it is presumed, between the mates but not necessarily so between parents and children.

Indeed only a very small proportion of young children appear to be separated from at least one parent despite the fact that death and loss of affection disrupt so many homes. There were only about

⁹ *Defects Found in Drafted Men* (United States Surgeon General's Office), pp. 104-05.

¹⁰ W. F. Ogburn, "Divorce," *New York Times Magazine*, December 18, 1927.

284,000 such children being cared for in institutions. The children placed out in foster homes would add to this number. Through widows pensions 121,000 children were enabled to be with their widowed mothers.

THE ECONOMIC FUNCTION

Affection is of course not the only aspect of family life, despite the fact that in the United States marriage appears, at least in current literature, to be contracted almost wholly on the basis of affection. The family has always performed important economic functions. Indeed, in the past a rather large amount of the total production of foods and manufactured articles were produced by families in households. We know of course that spinning and weaving have left the homes for the factories, but there are certain statistics that indicate that other economic functions are being lost to the family. For instance, since 1900 (to 1920), the number of waiters in the United States more than doubled (increased 113 per cent) while the population only increased a little over one-third (39 per cent). The number of waiters increased, therefore, about three times as fast as the population. At the same time the number of domestic servants have actually decreased 15 per cent. During the same period the number of restaurant keepers have increased 158 per cent, about four times as fast as the population increased or about three and one-half times as fast as the urban population which grew 46 per cent during this time. The services of the home in feeding the population is shifting rapidly to outside agencies. Man is less dependent on the wife for food.

There are other statistics to show the decreasing preparation of food in the home. The product of bakeries in the United States increased 60 per cent (in stable money) during the decade from 1914 to 1925 while the population probably increased less than 15 per cent during that time. The number of delicatessen dealers increased from 1910 to 1920 by 43 per cent or three times as fast as the population. Canning and preserving also seems to be done less in the home, for from 1914 to 1925 the number of persons engaged in canning and preserving fruits and vegetables increased 37 per cent while the value of the product (in 1914 dollars) increased 100 per cent, a very marked growth for only eleven years.

In the washing of clothing and household linen, one notices a similar shifting of function from family to industry taking place at the present time. The number of launderers and laundresses not working in laundries decreased from 1910 to 1920 by one-quarter, while the amount of work done in laundries (as measured in values of money of the same purchasing power) increased from 1914 to 1925 by 57 per cent, despite the fact that the value of washing-machines and allied paraphernalia increased in value from 1919 to 1925 by nearly three times. (The total amount sold however was small.)

The value of sewing-machines for both factory and home sold in 1925 has not increased as compared with the sales in 1919, which probably means that the sales for use in the home have declined. The number of factories making sewing-machines, the number of wage earners and the amount of horse-power used have all declined markedly since 1919.

The loss by the family of the occupations cited in the preceding paragraphs means a loss by the women of the home of part of their occupations. This movement is correlated with the increase in the number of women who work outside the home for money, especially married women. For instance among all women at work outside the home, in 1890, 10 out of every 72 were married while, in 1920, 10 out of every 42 were married. Thus, today, nearly 1 out of every 4 women at work outside the home is married. Another very interesting fact is that in 1920, 1 out of every 11 married women worked for pay outside the home while 30 years previous only 1 in 22 married women was gainfully employed. These statistics of married women working for pay are dramatic testimony of the changing status of the home. The movement is swift and still going on.

Another possible index of the declining functions of the family is the increase in the number of multi-family dwellings. Such flats or apartments are usually smaller than houses, without yards or much play space. Quite generally the heating is done by some one other than a member of the family. They are, therefore, a symbol of fewer household duties. In the United States, in 1920, of the total building permits issued for dwellings of all sorts, 2.3 per cent were for multi-family dwellings while in 1928 (first six months),

8.7 per cent were for multi-family dwellings. The increase in apartment houses is, therefore, now much more rapid than the increase in the number of single family dwellings.¹¹ The building permits for a multi-family dwelling provides for many more families than does a permit for a single or two-family building. Therefore, the significance of the building permits for these types of buildings must be interpreted with this fact in mind. For instance in the first six months of 1920 the permits for multi-family dwellings took care of 35 per cent of the families provided for in all building permits while in the first six months of 1928 multi-family dwellings provided for 61 per cent of the families who occupied newly constructed homes. Thus nearly two-thirds of the new homes (for which building permits were necessary) are in apartment houses.

THE EDUCATIONAL FUNCTION

Of course the family is not simply an economic institution. The bringing up of children is thought by many to be its reason for being. "What is a home without children?" However, there are many families that never have nor never will have children. A sample of about 2,000 families of the past generation collected by Professors Ross and Baker,¹² showed 1 in 6 of these completed families as never having had any children born.¹³ Perhaps today a larger proportion of similar families will always be childless. Family duties are reduced greatly where there are no children. These duties are less also where there are few children than when there are many, for the children grow up and pass out of the home. In Rochester, New York, in 1920 of the women who had been married, 3 out of 10 had no children living with them. The average number of chil-

¹¹ *Bulletins of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics* and the *Monthly Labor Review*.

¹² Ross and Baker, *Changes in the Size of American Families in One Generation*. This sample of 2,273 families, with average age of birth in 1866 consisted of families of native stock and of the general class that sends children to college (these were the uncles and aunts of college students). It may not, therefore, be representative of the general population.

¹³ An explorer with his wife in knickers and bobbed hair visited the Indians in the Amazon basin in Brazil. The Indians would not believe that the person accompanying him was his wife, or even a woman. Their most telling comment was "Well, if she is a woman where is her child?"

dren per family was 2.8 children. Another piece of evidence as to the number of children born is the following. If reproduction and mortality rates for the different ages remain as now in the United States, then 10 women will bear 14 girl babies,¹⁴ (and of course approximately 28 children) during the course of their lives. Not all of these children will live; perhaps 10 per cent or more will die in early childhood. Women in general will have 2 or 3 children only to rear. The time for rearing so small a number is of course only a small part of the length of married life.

Of these few children, more and more of their education takes place outside the home. In 1850, only 45 per cent of young people five to twenty years of age were attending school while in 1920, there were 65 per cent. The schools keep the children away from their homes longer today also. In 1870, the average number of days of school attended was 78 while in 1926 it was 136. The schools are also taking the children from the home at younger ages. 1 in 6 of the children between five and six years of age are in schools now. Teachers are from certain viewpoints substitutes for parents. Since 1870 the number of parents have tripled but the number of teachers has increased six times.

THE RECREATIONAL FUNCTION

Formerly the home was quite a center for much of the recreation that the people enjoyed. Today recreation is increasingly outside the home, with the exception of the growth of the radio. There are several illustrations of this trend. The most noticeable is the development of motion pictures. In 1910 there were 9,480 motion-picture theaters in the United States while in 1928 the number had more than doubled, there being 20,500.¹⁵ The baseball attendance at the Big League games is certainly around 12,000,000 a year. Mr. Grantland Rice further estimates the total football attendance at from 25,000,000 to 30,000,000 a year, while 1,000,000 play tennis and about four times that number, viz., 4,000,000, play golf.

¹⁴ Alfred I. Lotka, "The Progeny of a Population Element"; *American Journal of Hygiene*, Vol. VIII, No. 6 (1928).

¹⁵ These figures are approximate and are furnished by Lamar Trotti of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Inc. They estimate an attendance of 100,000,000 a week.

Such rough estimates are simply illustrative in a general way of the enormous development of sports and recreation outside the home. The change of the location of the home from the farm and village to the city has greatly restricted the play space and this movement has been accompanied (somewhat tardily though) by an increase in space for parks and playgrounds. For instance, 127 cities in the United States having a population of 30,000 or more have increased their parks and playgrounds as measured in acreage by eight times from 1880 to 1926.¹⁶

THE PROTECTIVE FUNCTION

The family has always performed in varying degrees the function of protecting its members. The man was the protector of the women and children. The state has now taken over this function. Duelling has been practically abolished. In 1920 there was 1 policeman (constable, sheriff, or detective) for every 220 families in the United States. This tendency is still growing for, in 1910, there was 1 such policeman to every 240 families. The total number of such police, guards, watchmen, soldiers, marines, firemen, officials, and inspectors have increased 70 per cent from 1910 to 1920. While the state as a protector is growing, the protective function of the family is declining. That families do not protect their own children adequately is shown by the number of juvenile delinquents. In 1920, .15 per cent of all children 10 to 17 years of age were in institutions for juvenile delinquents, not perhaps a large per cent, yet large enough to mean that many families are not adequately caring for their children. In one large city (in cities there are more juvenile delinquents than in the country) .22 per cent were in institutions and .65 per cent were brought before the courts, while 4.86 per cent of the children ten to seventeen years old were investigated for reported offenses by the police.¹⁷

Indeed the state has developed so strongly this function of protection that it protects the family against itself. Such is in part the meaning of the child labor laws which are now on the statute

¹⁶ *Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics*, No. 462, pp. 31-49.

¹⁷ Unpublished figures reported by Professor E. W. Burgess as a result of researches.

books of 48 states. These laws protect the children from parents as well as from employers. Similarly the compulsory education laws, in force since 1909, in 48 states are in part a protection of children against the inadequate protection of certain families.

Nearly all old people and widows especially those with young children need protection. Formerly grown-up children and relatives were a sort of insurance. But now with so few children and with relatives so far away (due to the mobility of labor), this protection is very limited. To a certain extent insurance takes the place of this earlier protection by family-kin. The growth of insurance in the United States has been enormous. In 1926 the amount of insurance of all kinds was thirty times as great as it was in 1870, that is, at about the beginning of our great industrial expansion. The insurance system would have grown even if families had remained large and if the members had always lived nearby. Nevertheless the great development of insurance is a substitute for former protection by the living members of the family.

CONCLUSION

The statistical evidence presented in the foregoing paragraphs is evidence selected in good part because of the nature of existing statistics. Yet it does show a marked loss of functions by the family, particularly the economic, educational, recreational, and protective function. And what is quite interesting is that the loss of these functional activities is continuing today without, in general, much if any tendency to slacken. It is usually fairly safe to project statistical series into the future for a short time, where the trend is marked. The changing family will probably continue to experience a further decline of functions. It is not so clear that the affectional function is declining, but certainly the statistics show that all is not well with the affectional situation of family life today.

FAMILY DISORGANIZATION AND MOBILITY¹

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ABSTRACT

There is a relationship between mobility in city life and social disorganization. Divorce rates and juvenile delinquency rates are higher in the city than in the country, due to the breakdown of neighborhood control resulting from the mobility of city life, with its constantly increasing stimulation and formal secondary relations between individuals. This problem involves either the measurement of correlation or of contingency between mobility and the specific form of social disorganization. The mobility indices of two groups, 1,000 cases each, have been computed in terms of the average years of residence per street address. To make both groups homogeneous, so far as social class is concerned, only telephone subscribers were taken. The control group was selected by a modified process of random sampling. Each move from one community to another was then classified into three groups: (1) those in which movement involved going to areas of higher disorganization, (2) those representing movement to communities of lower disorganization, and (3) cases in which there was no change in disorganization involved in movement from one community to another.

MOBILITY AND CITY LIFE

The distinction between the country and the city may be stated in terms of mobility. The city is an area of high mobility while the country is one of relatively low mobility. It would be expected, then, that in the city there would be more disorganization, because of the increase in number and intensity of stimulations, all tending to confuse and demoralize the individual. The result is that in whatever realm of social relations one studies, he will find a close relationship between the degree of mobility and the tendency toward change from the traditional and accepted forms. When this change confuses and demoralizes the person, it results in some form of social disorganization.

It is evident, from what has proceeded, that the concept, mobility, is used to indicate a general process, the elements of which are yet to be defined. Yet the term is no less useful in analysis, for it establishes a frame of reference in terms of which changes in contacts and activities may be related to changes in social forms and

¹ The writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to the Social Science Research Council under whose auspices this study was made as a part of a research project.

patterns, on the one hand, and to the introduction of new stimuli on the other. Thus having established the relative relationship, contingency, between mobility in general and social disorganization, one may proceed to analyze the relationship between the general process and some specific type of social disorganization, such as that of the disintegration of the family.

MOBILITY AND DIVORCE

It has become a commonplace that the mobility of city life is largely responsible for the breakdown of neighborhood control over the individual and, therefore, a fundamental force to be taken into consideration in the study of social problems.² Attention has already been called to the influence of the primary group on domestic relations.³ Divorce varies in different parts of the United States, but within large cities this variation is probably as great, if not greater.⁴ Is there any connection, then, between the mobility of city life and domestic discord?

Mobility may be measured either in terms of change of movement or in terms of increase in contacts. At present it seems easier to get indices of change of movement rather than of increase in contacts. In this paper, accordingly, a simple index of mobility may be taken in terms of changes in home addresses.

In a previous study already referred to, statistical data were compiled from the divorce records of the Circuit Court of Cook County, Illinois, for the year 1919. Only cases in which divorces had been granted were considered and the certificate of evidence was consulted in each case. The names of the complainant and defendant were taken and also their addresses at the time of separation, where given. Other data such as the year of marriage and that of separation were recorded as well as the number of children by age and sex, the place of marriage, and the grounds for divorce.

The difficulty with a great many social investigations of a statistical nature is that no control group is available with which to make comparisons. In this study, therefore, a method has been

² Park, Burgess, and others, *The City*, pp. 46-62.

³ Mowrer, *Family Disorganization*, pp. 21-24; 165-72.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 116-19.

used whereby a control group was secured. Taking the year of separation as the starting-point and then following the changes of address for the family in the telephone directory until the date of marriage or the disappearance of the name was reached, it has been possible to trace 1,000 families during some portion of their married lives. These data constitute the sample for divorce cases.

The control group was taken as follows: for each divorce case a control case was taken by recording the name of a person follow-

TABLE I
YEARS RESIDENCE OF 1,000 DIVORCE CASES IN TERMS OF STREET ADDRESSES

No. Years	Total Cases	Number of Addresses								Total Years
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Total	1,000	502	263	127	61	29	15	2	1	3,448
1	271	260	11	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	271
2	221	123	89	8	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	442
3	152	52	73	27	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	456
4	93	30	32	23	5	3	.....	.....	.....	372
5	71	13	25	18	9	6	.....	.....	.....	355
6	51	8	10	17	11	3	2	.....	.....	306
7	50	9	8	13	10	7	3	.....	.....	350
8	27	2	5	11	4	.....	5	.....	.....	216
9	21	2	4	4	7	1	1	2	.....	189
10	19	3	4	2	4	5	1	.....	.....	190
11	8	.....	1	3	2	1	1	.....	.....	88
12	7	.....	1	.....	2	2	1	.....	1	84
13	4	.....	.....	1	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	52
14 . . . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
15	3	.....	.....	.....	1	1	1	.....	.....	45
16	2	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	32
Total Ad- dresses . . .	1,910	502	526	381	244	145	90	14	8	.....

ing that of the family in the telephone directory who later became divorced if that name were characteristic enough to make tracing it possible. If not, the next one and so on. This name was then traced back through earlier directories until it disappeared. By this method a group of cases was obtained which represents a sample of telephone subscribers and, therefore, belonging to the same social class as that from which the divorce group was taken, they also being telephone subscribers. Thus a homogeneity was obtained in the two groups which is often lacking in studies of social problems, even where a control is set up.

AVERAGE YEARS OF RESIDENCE

The distribution of divorce cases is shown in Table I. Obviously, the average number of addresses per case would be of little significance because the short duration of many marriages would make the total years covered less for the divorce group than for the control group. For this reason the mobility index has been computed in terms of the total years divided by the total addresses. For the divorce group the average is 1.81 years per address. The standard error is .02, which multiplied by 2.58 is .05. The chances are, therefore, 100 to 1 that a second sample would give results lying somewhere between 1.76 and 1.86 years per address.⁵

The distribution of the control group is shown in Table II. For the control group the average is 2.83 years per address. The standard error is .027, which multiplied by 2.58 is .07. The chances are 100 to 1 that a second sample would yield results somewhere between 2.76 and 2.90 years per address.

The difference between the average for the divorce group and that for the control group is 1.02 years per address. The standard error is .03 which multiplied by 2.58 is .08.⁶ The observed difference is thus some twelve times 2.58 standard errors and could not have occurred by chance. The mobility, accordingly, in terms of the number of years per address (i.e., the changes in addresses per year if one wishes to convert the index into these terms) is considerably higher for the divorce group than for the control group.

AVERAGE YEARS PER COMMUNITY

Changes of address, however, may be slight or great. One often observes that families tend to stay for considerable time within the

⁵ The standard error of the mean has been computed as usual:

$$\sigma_m = \frac{\sigma}{\sqrt{n}} \quad \text{Where} \quad \sigma = \sqrt{\frac{\sum(fx_1^2 + fx_2^2 + \dots + fx_n^2)}{n}}$$

and the results multiplied by 2.58 which furnishes a convenient measure of the range both above and below the mean of the sample within which the chances are 100 to 1 that the true mean lies. Cf., Hart, "A Simplified Method of Determining What Contrasts between Two Percentage Distributions Are Significant," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XIX, 65-70 (March, 1924).

⁶ The standard error of the difference between the means of the two groups has been determined by the use of the formula

$$s = \sqrt{\frac{\sigma_1^2}{n_1} + \frac{\sigma_2^2}{n_2}}$$

same neighborhood, though they may not remain for long at the same street address. Obviously, should the control group tend to move further than the divorce group, even though the former did not move so often, the result might be such as to make the control group more mobile or to equalize the difference between the two

TABLE II

YEARS RESIDENCE OF 1,000 CONTROL CASES IN TERMS OF STREET ADDRESSES

No. Years	Total Cases	Number of Addresses									Total Years
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
Total.....	1,000	493	278	116	65	29	13	2	2	2	5,450
1.....	47	47	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	47
2.....	166	130	36	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	332
3.....	158	96	52	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	474
4.....	115	62	31	16	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	400
5.....	111	51	35	19	5	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	555
6.....	92	32	32	14	9	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	552
7.....	78	33	22	10	9	3	1	.....	.....	.....	546
8.....	54	19	17	12	3	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	432
9.....	51	13	18	11	2	4	3	.....	.....	.....	459
10.....	38	4	10	12	9	2	.....	1	.....	.....	380
11.....	30	4	9	2	9	3	2	.....	1	.....	330
12.....	12	1	2	1	4	3	.....	.....	1	.....	144
13.....	11	.....	1	1	2	3	3	.....	.....	1	143
14.....	11	.....	4	3	.....	1	3	.....	.....	.....	154
15.....	9	1	5	1	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	135
16.....	4	.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	64
17.....	4	.....	1	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	68
18.....	5	.....	1	.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	90
19.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
20.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
21.....	2	.....	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	42
22.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
23.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
24.....	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	24
Total Addresses..	1,928	493	556	348	250	145	78	14	16	18	

groups. Accordingly, both groups have been tabulated in terms of community addresses as well as in terms of street addresses. The community boundaries used were those developed in a previous study in which the justification for the procedure may be found.⁷ In this comparison, the average for the divorce group is 2.39 years per community (Table III) as compared to that for the control group of 3.88 years per community.⁸ The difference between these

⁷ E. R. Mowrer, *op. cit.*, chap. v.

⁸ 2.58 standard errors: divorce group, .06; control group, .05.

two averages is 1.49 years. The standard error of the difference multiplied by 2.58 is .08. The observed difference could not be attributed to chance, therefore, it being some 18 times 2.58 standard errors. In terms of community movement, then, the divorce group is much more mobile than the control group.

It will be observed, however, that the increase in the number of years per community for the control group was not as great as that

TABLE III
YEARS RESIDENCE OF 1,000 DIVORCE CASES
IN TERMS OF COMMUNITY ADDRESSES

No. Years	Total Cases	Number of Communities					Total Years
		1	2	3	4	5	
Total.....	1,000	672	235	76	12	5	3,448
1.....	271	266	5	.....	.....	.....	271
2.....	221	173	45	3	.....	.....	442
3.....	152	81	62	9	.....	.....	456
4.....	93	47	38	7	1	.....	372
5.....	71	35	23	12	1	.....	355
6.....	51	17	16	14	2	2	306
7.....	50	17	16	12	4	1	350
8.....	27	9	8	8	1	1	216
9.....	21	10	6	4	1	.....	189
10.....	19	9	5	4	1	.....	190
11.....	8	4	4	.....	.....	.....	88
12.....	7	3	2	1	.....	1	84
13.....	4	1	3	.....	.....	.....	52
14.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
15.....	3	.....	1	1	1	.....	45
16.....	2	.....	1	1	.....	.....	32
Total communities.	1,443	672	470	228	48	25	.....

for the divorce group. The possibility that movement may be more radical in one group than the other is thus still open and needs to be attacked in some other terms.

MOVES TO ADJACENT AND NON-ADJACENT COMMUNITIES

Measurement of mobility in terms of movement from one community to another assumes that such movements are of more significance than those within the same community. In so far as each community constitutes a homogeneous group, this would, of course, be true. Obviously, this situation is never fully realized in large

MOVEMENT TO AREAS OF HIGHER OR LOWER MOBILITY

Study of the local situation reveals, however, that two areas may vary greatly in the rate of family disorganization even though they are adjacent.¹⁰ This variation, in many instances, takes the form of a higher rate of family disorganization in one direction and a lower rate in another. The adjacency or non-adjacency of a community, therefore, does not tell one much about movement, for if one group tended to move more into adjacent areas of high disorganization rather than into adjacent areas of low disorganization, the movements of that group would represent higher mobility. In order to determine to what extent this is true an attempt has been

TABLE VI

MOBILITY GROUP	TOTAL CASES		GROUP			
	No.	Per Cent	Control		Divorce	
			No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Total	627	100	299	100	328	100
-8 to -1	271	43	147	49	124	38
0	185	30	86	29	99	30
+1 to +9	171	27	66	22	105	32

made to rate each move for both groups of cases. In order to do this the areas of Chicago have been given indices of disorganization. (See Chart I.) These indices range from 0 to 9 and have been derived from the number of cases of divorce and non-support per 10,000 population for each of the 75 communities in Chicago.

The method has been to compute for each case an index of movement by taking the sum of the differences between the community indices in which the person or family lived. Thus, if a family or person lived in Oakland which has an index of disorganization of 7 and moved to Hyde Park, of which the index is 4, the index of movement or mobility would be -3 for that case. If, instead, the case has gone from Hyde Park to Oakland, the index would be +3. Table VI follows.

¹⁰ Mowrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-20.

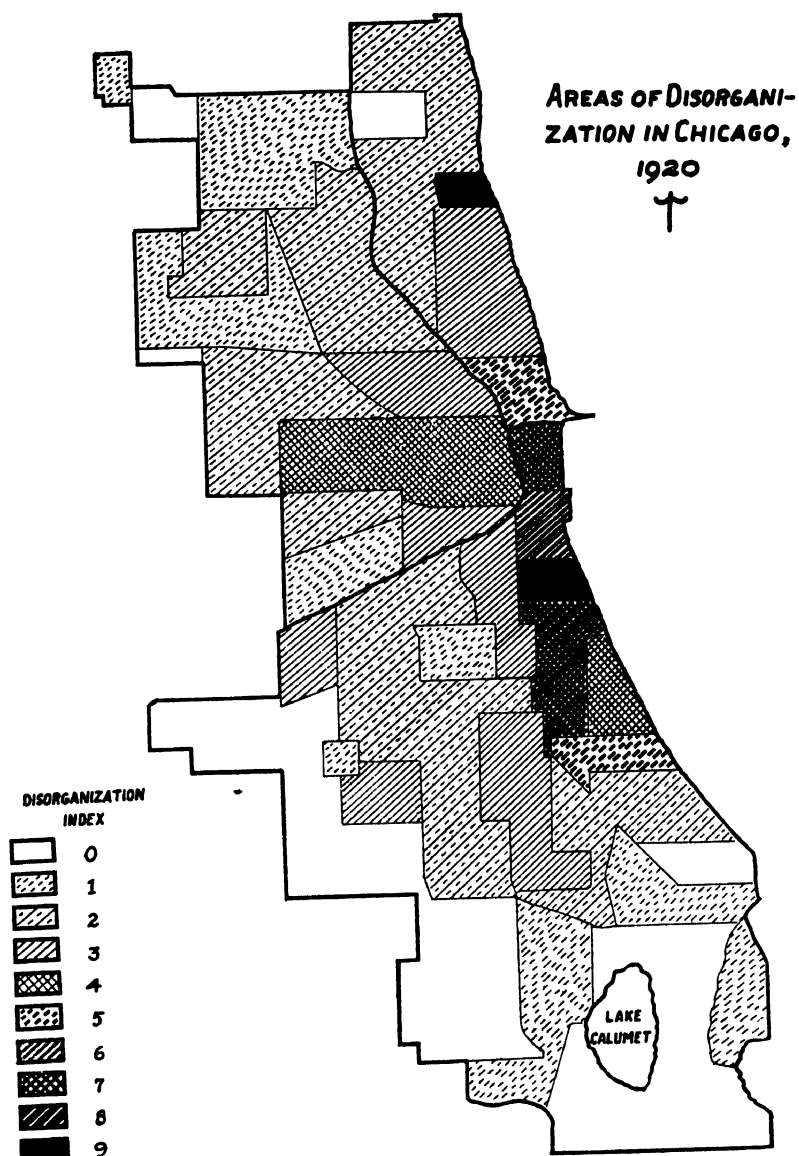


CHART I

Large differences in percentages are shown for both the first and third mobility groups. For the "zero" mobility group there is no substantial difference in distribution between the control and divorce groups. Forty-nine per cent of the moves in the control group are to communities of lower indices of disorganization as compared with 38 per cent for the divorce group. Two and fifty-eight hundredths standard errors in this instance equals 10 per cent while the difference is 11 per cent. The chances are approximately 100 to 1 that this is not a chance result. On the other hand, 32 per cent of the divorce group moved to communities in which there was a higher rate of disorganization as compared to 22 per cent. The standard error of this difference multiplied by 2.58 is 9 per cent,

TABLE VII

MOBILITY INDEX	TOTAL MOVES		CONTROL GROUP		DIVORCE GROUP	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Total.....	874	100	414	100	460	100
-8 to -1.....	362	42	191	46	177	38
0.....	235	27	115	28	120	26
+1 to +9.....	271	31	108	26	163	35

making this difference significant by approximately the same probability as the previous one.

In order to be sure that in cases where there were more than two moves, there might not be any hidden differential between the two groups; all cases of inter-community movement have been tabulated in terms of the mobility index of each move rather than of each case. Table VII follows.

The results of this method of tabulation are approximately those of the previous method. One can conclude, accordingly, that the divorce group tends to move more often into areas of higher disorganization than the control group, while the latter group tends to move more often into areas of lower disorganization.

AVERAGE MOBILITY OF MOVEMENT

Analysis in terms of the direction of movement, whether "minus" or "plus," i.e., toward areas of lower disorganization or of

higher disorganization, does not exhaust the possibilities. The number of cases, or of moves, for each of the groups from -8 to $+9$ is too small to be compared with any assurance of significant results. One can take, however, the average in each direction along the scale from zero. The average mobility of intercommunity movement for the control group in the "minus" direction is 2.18; that for the divorce group, 3.04. There is, accordingly, a difference of .86. Is this difference significant? The standard error is .22, which multiplied by 2.58 is .56. The probabilities are about 10,000 to 1 that this difference is not the result of chance. Where there is movement in the "minus" direction then, the divorce group tends to move more radically in the "minus" direction than does the control group. If this same analysis is made in terms of total moves rather than of total cases, the results are substantially the same.

Movement in the "plus" direction does not show this difference; or at least the results are not conclusive. The average for the control group is 2.54 as compared to 3.0 for the divorce group. The difference is .46, slightly less than two times the standard error. The probabilities are about 10 to 1 that this is not a chance result. When the unit is the move and not the case, this difference almost wholly disappears.

The conclusion from this analysis is that while the divorce group tends to move more often in the "plus" direction than does the control group, the average mobility in that direction is about equal for both groups. Also, while the control group tends to move more often in the "minus" direction than does the divorce group, average mobility in that direction is higher for the divorce group.

These facts seem to indicate, then, a close relationship between family disorganization and mobility. With the breakdown in neighborhood control in the city, resulting from the constant movement from one social situation to another, the individual is freed from the usual social restraints. And while this may not in all instances result in the production of attitudes in conflict with group standards, it does facilitate the expression of such attitudes by breaking down the repressive and coercive control of the primary group.

DIVISION ON SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

FAMILY LIFE AND RURAL ORGANIZATION

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ABSTRACT

Locality is giving way to special interests as a basis for group organization in rural society. In this changing process, the family faces the necessity of making adjustments. Its members, when released from locality restrictions, are attracted to various poles of interest. Opportunity for conflicting loyalties may arise within the individual and within the family group. Questions, therefore, arise, as to the "carrying power" of an individual or a family for organizations, and likewise as to the factors which condition such relationships. A study of about 300 families in 12 districts is being made in an attempt to answer these questions. A few results of the preliminary tabulations of the first 125 families are given for discussion purposes. Women belong to more organizations but not as high a proportion of all the women have organization affiliations. A lesser proportion of young people, under twenty-one years, have organization affiliations, but those who do, have as many as the adults. About 22 per cent of the families have no organization affiliations of any kind. Families with organization affiliations have a slight tendency toward greater church membership. Families in the higher income groups and living on good roads belong to more organizations. Families with organization affiliations borrow more books and take more magazines. Families with two daily papers have the largest number of books in their own libraries. The first nine favorite forms of recreation are: reading, auto rides, picnics, cards, movies, plays, radio, dances, and music.

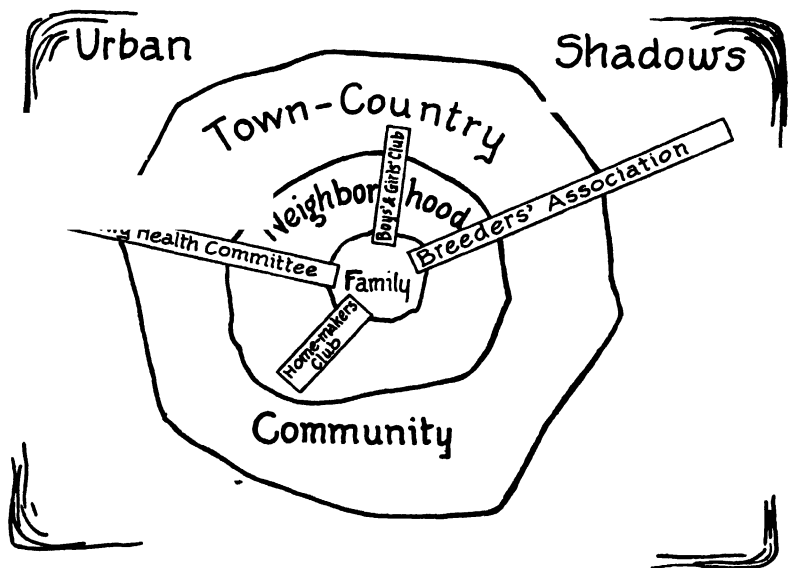
Locality is giving way to special interests as a basis for group organization in rural society. In this changing process the rural family, both farm and village, faces the necessity of making adjustments. Its members, when so released from locality restrictions, are attracted to various poles of interest. One member may ally himself with several interest groups and another member with several others. Not all of these can have equal appeal or claim. Opportunity for conflicting loyalties can arise within the family group and even within the individual member.

This situation may be considered as representing a third stage in the development of rural society. In the first neighborhood stage, all members of all families in a small locality were bound together by more general and common interests into primary groups. This

neighborhood could in a real sense be designated the "great family" according to the terminology and analysis of Dr. W. I. Thomas. Indeed, kinship was frequently the important tie in many of these groups. The whole family went together to the husking-bee, barn-raising, spell-down, or chicken-pie supper.

CHART I

A THEORETICAL GRAPH SUGGESTING THE RELATION OF INTEREST GROUPS TO
LOCALITY GROUPS IN RURAL ORGANIZATION



In the second town-country or urban community stage, farm families and village or small-town families came into more frequent and more direct contacts. Household and neighborhood self-sufficiency gave way to a greater interdependence of town and country. Specialized services of marketing, financing, and retail merchandising were required. Farm gates opened on to roads and the better roads led to the town and city. This stage continues, of course, in many regions.

In the third special interest stage, rural families are attempting to matriculate into the more complex life of general society, but at the same time create for themselves group relations of a primary,

face to face, sort. In the old neighborhood there were many common interests; therefore, group organizations could be few, simple in pattern, and include all members of the family. At present rural groups are more largely conditioned by interests, deliberate intent, skillful promotion, or purposeful action of people. Locality groups have lateral or geographic dimensions. Interest groups have perpendicular or psychocultural dimensions. Locality groups depend upon "common" life, proximity, identification with a recognized physical area. Interest groups depend upon polarity, promotion, "special" concerns, leadership, determined effort. Polarity implies fields of magnetic influence. When released from locality restrictions and from patriarchal forms of family government, certain people are attracted to certain of these poles of interest.

In rural society interest groups are taking many forms. A few may be cited: farmers' clubs, parent-teacher associations, horticultural societies, breeders' associations, boys' and girls' clubs, poultry associations, home-makers' clubs, shipping associations, co-operative creameries, dramatic societies, glee clubs. However, the professional name may indicate very little regarding the functions involved. For example, the Sylvia Community Club is a woman's club; the French Island Community Club is a cemetery association; the Grantsburg Equity Farmers' Co-operative Association is a farmers' grocery store; the Chipmunk Coulee Lecture Club is a young people's school club; the May Glee Club is a farmers' community club. Any analysis, therefore, makes classification on the basis of functions necessary. It should be said parenthetically that not all such groups are sharply differentiated by separate interest. Many are characterized by several interests. Moreover, they are found all along the way in various forms of development, from the early neighborhood stage.

The more central purpose of this paper, however, is to examine the rural family in this general scheme of group organization. Questions arise at once as to the "carrying power" or capacity of individual members or of families as groups for organizations of various sorts. Likewise, what are the factors which condition or determine these relationships? In an attempt to answer some of these questions, a modified form of case study is being made of about 300

farm families in twelve carefully selected areas in five counties. Every family in these selected areas was visited. Results secured from the first and preliminary tabulations and analyses of the first 220 families are very briefly presented for purposes of discussion and to stimulate more study.

One method of approach is to ask at once regarding the extent of participation or identification of families and of individual members in rural organizations. Three preliminary measures for this were used: affiliation in terms of membership; attendance upon activities, and leadership in terms of offices held. In the first block of 120 families, it was found that the largest number of families, the mode, had members affiliated with two organizations. Of the individuals, 62.5 per cent were affiliated with organizations; 7.7 per cent held one or more offices, and 55.3 per cent reported attendance at one or more meetings. In regard to church, 64.6 per cent of the individuals were church members; 32 per cent claimed regular attendance, but only two held church offices. Eighty per cent of the families reported no members attending a Sunday school or religious instruction regularly. Fifty-nine per cent, 54 per cent, and 56 per cent voted at the spring primary, and general elections, respectively. Only three individuals were found who held local government offices. Thirty-four per cent attended school meetings and 4 per cent held school offices.

Women belong to more organizations and a higher proportion of all the women have organization affiliations. A lesser proportion of young people, under twenty-one years, have organization affiliations, but those who do, have as many as the adults. About 22 per cent of the families have no organization affiliations of any kind. Families with organization affiliations have a slight tendency toward greater church membership, but not attendance. Families in the higher income groups and living on good roads belong to more organizations. Families with organization affiliations borrow more books and take more magazines. Families with two daily papers have the largest number of books in their own libraries. Families having lived on their present farms for six years or more have the largest organization connections.

This sort of summary, however, does not take one far into an

understanding of relationships. Some sort of classification is necessary. Another block of 100 families, therefore, was taken and classified two ways: first, by the proportion of members affiliated with organizations and second, by the areas in which the families lived. By the first plan of classification, all families that had all members ten years of age or over definitely affiliated with organizations were put into the first class. There were thirty-five of these. Into the third class went all families that had no members affiliated with any organization. There were thirty of these. The remaining thirty-five went into the second or intermediate class. The three classes were then analyzed, both by family and by individual member. The entire 100 families were next classified according to the areas in which they resided. The areas had been selected to represent, first intensive or high organization situations, that is, where many organizations were present and second, where there were very few organizations. In the high organization areas 58.5 per cent of all the families were in the first or 100 per cent affiliation class, that is, all of their members were affiliated with some one or more organizations, and 13.2 per cent were in the third or zero class, that is, had no members affiliated with any organization. In the low organization areas but 6.4 per cent of the families were in the 100 per cent affiliation class and 49.0 per cent were in the third or zero class with no members affiliated with organizations.

The next stage in the analysis was to find out what factors seem to be operating in each of three classes of families, namely, the 100 per cent affiliation class, the intermediate class, and the zero or no affiliation class. First, it is evident that the presence of organizations near at hand is an important factor in family participation. It is not so easy to decide whether the organizations are there because of the character of the families or whether the presence of the organizations calls forth the participation.

Second, there is a tendency for the 100 per cent affiliation families to belong to several organizations, the average in this class being 6.7 affiliations per family. In the intermediate class the number of affiliations falls to 1.9. For the farmer it was 2.2 organizations and for the home-maker, 2.4 organizations. This indicates a concentration of affiliations and of controls among a relatively small

number of families, likewise a sort of intertwining or interlocking of one organization with another through a common personnel in their constituencies. Consequently the 100 per cent affiliation families attend more meetings and activities, 43.7 compared with 11.4 in the intermediate class. They hold more offices, that is, 1.3 per family as compared with 0.1 in the intermediate class. The averages of offices held is exactly the same for both men and women in the 100 per cent affiliation class.

Third, the larger size of family over ten years of age makes for a greater participation in organization activity. In the 100 per cent affiliation families there were 4.6 members; in the intermediate class 4.7 members, and in the zero or no affiliation class 3.7 members. In this latter class the number of children dropped below one per family. Nor is it small children that keep families from organization activities, since the 100 per cent affiliation families had 1.3 children under ten years of age, the intermediate class had 1.2 children, whereas the zero affiliation class had but 0.9 per family.

Fourth, ownership of the farm, longer residence on the same farm, and larger gross income are associated with greater organization participation. Which may be cause and which effect cannot be given with any assurance until the study is more nearly completed. In the 100 per cent affiliation class, 85.7 per cent were owners; in the intermediate class 80.0 per cent; and in the zero affiliation class, 70.0 per cent. The acres operated and the acres cropped per family did not show any correlation with organization connections.

Fifth, the relations of churches to other local organizations appear to present an interesting picture. The families with high organization affiliations show a slight tendency to high church membership. When it comes to church attendance, however, the tendency seems to be reversed. For example, the average per family church attendance for the 100 per cent affiliation families was 39.1; for the intermediate class it was 42.8, and for the zero affiliation families, it was 46.2. This would suggest possible competition between local interest organizations and the local church. Furthermore, this tendency toward inverse correlation is most marked among the female members of the families. More attention will

have to be given to this factor also before final conclusions can be suggested.

Sixth, radios and reading materials apparently do not keep farm families at home, nor does the ownership of automobiles increase their participation in organization affairs. The 100 per cent affiliation families reported 173 hours of radio auditing per individual over ten years of age; the intermediate class 141 hours, and the zero affiliation families but 77 hours. The home-maker reported the greatest number of auditing hours.

More periodicals were found in the homes of families with higher organization participation. For example, the 100 per cent affiliation class took 8.1 periodicals per family; the intermediate class 5.7, and the zero affiliation class 5.6. The presence of the paper or magazine seems to be at least some index of the reading habits of the members of the family. The 100 per cent affiliation families reported 286 hours of reading last year per individual over ten years of age; the intermediate class 231 hours, and the zero affiliation families 244 hours. The female members of the household other than the home-maker reported the most reading done and the farmer himself came second.

The comparison of automobiles owned gave no clear indication of a relationship with membership in organizations since, of the 100 per cent affiliation families, 88.6 per cent owned cars, 91.4 per cent of the intermediate families and 76.7 per cent of the zero affiliation families.

Finally, it must be urged that all of these results are only tentative and subject to revision as the total number of families is further combined and grouped. Conclusions must wait upon this further analysis and upon interpretations based upon the fuller study of individual cases in the various classification groups. It seems safe to hazard the suggestion, however, that rural family relations to other group organizations turn upon the actual availability of such organizations upon a degree of concentration of both leadership and membership within certain families; upon a degree of stability and economic success as measured by ownership, residence, and gross income; and upon a certain alertness and interest in general affairs as indicated by reading and radio auditing.

FARMERS' MOVEMENTS AS PSYCHOSOCIAL PHENOMENA

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ABSTRACT

A movement is an attempt on the part of a large segment of society, often of some specific society, to accomplish an economic or social adjustment of factors and conditions which are, or are believed to be, in maladjustment. The study of a movement leads to an analysis of class consciousness, group conflict, specialized publics, class prejudices, the techniques of almost all kinds of public gatherings, many techniques and technologies of promotion and propaganda, shibboleths, slogans, even creeds and rituals and, of course, leadership and social status. Light is thrown on causes for the origin, growth, and decline of any specific movement by correlating its cycle with other cultural trends such as those of the geographic, economic, political, religious, and possibly ethnic factors. There is both a similarity and a difference between movements and revolutions and revolts. The farmers' movement in the United States has been a persistent, though fluctuating, movement for seventy years. It arose before the Civil War. It has run through the well-known Granger and Greenback periods of the seventies, was followed by the Alliance movements of the eighties, the Populist movement of the late eighties and early nineties, the Farmers Union and Equity movements of the first decade of the present century, the Non-Partisan League and Farmer-Labor party, the Farm-Bureau movement, the Agricultural Block, the LaFollette Campaign, the wide spread co-operative marketing movement, is now still represented by the majority of all these organizations and is most popularly known by its persistent demand for farm relief legislation. It probably is not too broad a generalization to say that a movement which is sufficiently persistent to be constantly and even militantly represented in the economic and political life of a nation for over seventy years is an index to a consciousness of a real social maladjustment and will continue to be represented by farm discontent and, consequently, by a farmer movement until it accomplishes a degree of the adjustment for which it strives.

I. THE FARMER MOVEMENT IS MORE THAN GREEN UPRISINGS

The farmers' movement is more than the recurrence of large national farmers' organizations in American history. It is more than the green uprisings in our national life. We can probably, however, do no better, by way of giving the movement historic setting, than to tell the story of its ebb and flow in terms of large farmer organizations and uprisings.

The Granger Movement of the seventies, the Alliance Movement of the eighties and early nineties, the Farmer Union and Equity Movements of the first decade of the present century, the

Non-Partisan League and Farmer-Laborer Movements of the last dozen years, are usually looked upon as sporadic uprisings of a considerable body of farmers who are discontented with the economic situation at each given time. It is common to hear these uprisings described in terms of levity or even of derision. The thesis of this paper is that the Grange, the Alliance, the Equity, the Union, the Farm Bureau and Co-operative Marketing movements, together with a great number of smaller and less well-known farmers' societies and a number of farmer political uprisings are all a part of one farmer movement.

The upheaval that elected Andrew Jackson president in 1828 was in no small way a farmer movement. Even in prerevolutionary days the tobacco farmers of Maryland and Virginia attempted by organized effort to influence price and control surplus by legislation.¹ Along about 1828-29 and 1830, associations of farmers, mechanics, and workingmen began to spring up. By 1834 such organizations were scattered all over the East and as far west as Missouri. These activities on the part of American farmers were embryo and sporadic and while they were the natural, and in a way, the genetic forerunners of the large organizations which followed, it was not until 1858 that the battle cry of the farmers was first heard as a voice independent from mechanics and workingmen.

The movement initiated in the Centralia platform of 1858 gained considerable strength and following but was interrupted by the Civil War, to be followed, however, almost immediately after the war by numerous farmers' clubs and then in 1867 by the organization of the first great farmers' society—the Grange.

From the issuance of the Centralia platform to the present, the farmer movement has revolved about the price and market problem. If I were to present you a curve of either farm price levels or wholesale price levels from 1869 to 1925 and then show you the curve of the rise and fall of farm organization membership, you would see clearly that the dates of the troughs of the one are approximately the dates of the crests of the other. The history of the farmer movement in the United States could almost be written in

¹ L. C. Gray, "The Market Surplus Problem of Colonial Tobacco," *William and Mary College Quarterly*, October, 1927.

terms of farm price levels. Prices and markets are as much the heart of the farmer movement as wages and hours are the heart of the labor movement and so, just as no one any longer speaks of the labor movement solely in terms of strikes, neither should anyone speak of the farmer movement solely in terms of green uprisings.

II. WHAT A MOVEMENT IS

A movement is a specific type of social phenomenon. It is a continuous and persistent attempt on the part of a large segment of a given society to accomplish an economic or social adjustment of factors and conditions which are, or are believed to be, in maladjustment to the detriment of the segment of society which is in revolt. Movements are more than likely to attack commonly accepted economic, social, or political arrangements and accepted modes of thinking about these arrangements. The vast majority of economic and social maladjustments are remedied piecemeal, if remedied at all. If they affect only scattered persons in society, they may be disregarded, and quite often are. If they influence only a few persons, but these persons are localized, they are remedied by local community action. If the maladjustments influence a relatively small but wide-spread segment of the population or are of long standing, they are most often taken to be "just natural or inevitable." When, however, maladjustments influence a large segment of a given society and are persistent, they must be, and are, attacked with a different technique. Furthermore, in a dynamic and fairly democratic society, they must be attacked. Even in a society that is not democratic, they are likely to be attacked. In so-called static societies the method of attack is that of open revolt or revolution. In democratic societies the method of attack is that of movements. That is why the green uprisings of past centuries have been bloody revolts, while in the United States they have been movements.

The outstanding movements in American history have been the abolition movement, the temperance movement, the woman's rights movement, the labor movement, and the farmer movement. The issues, the history, and the culmination of the abolition movement resulted in the abolition of slavery and the political settlement of the issues involved by passing the 14th and 15th Amendments to

the Federal Constitution. The temperance movement accomplished its chief goal, politically, in the passing of the 18th Amendment, and the woman's movement in the passing of the 19th Amendment. Only the labor movement and the farmer movement still persist as movements whose objectives have not been definitely reached by crystallized remedies into law or into other forms of institutionalization. The reason these two movements still persist is because the maladjustments out of which they arose and about which they revolve are not yet satisfactorily resolved. Just as the labor movement arose out of industrial revolution, so the farmers' movement arose out of the agricultural revolution, i.e., out of the development of the use of science and machinery in farming and the coming of commercial agriculture.

The agricultural revolution did not come into the United States, in all of its phases, until in the fifties of the last century. It came with a rush after the Civil War. This fact, plus the deflation of agricultural prices following the Civil War, brought close on their heels the Granger movement.

The Grange was organized in the late sixties. By the middle of the seventies, it was a giant "ground swell" with a membership of 658,000 members. Before its decline was very pronounced, there appeared the Texas Farmers' Alliance, the Louisiana Farmers' Union, the Arkansas Agricultural Wheel, and the Brothers of Freedom—all southern farmers' organizations. These were duplicated in the North by the National Farmers' Alliance and the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association. In 1887 all the southern societies amalgamated and, in 1889, a degree of union was effected with the northern societies. From then on, until the free silver crash in 1896, all of these organizations practically lost their identity in the Populist movement. The combined membership of all farmers' organizations of the eighties and early nineties was claimed to be over three million and was probably one-half that number.

Scarcely had the crash come in this great set of farm organizations, than there arose others to take their place. The Ancient Order of the Gleaners was organized in 1894, the Farmers' Union and the American Society of Equity in 1902, the Farmers' Society of Equity in 1908, the Farmers' Equity Union in 1910, the Non-Par-

tisan League in 1915, State Farm Bureaus from 1915 to 1920, and the American Farm Bureau Federation in 1920. In the meantime and while a number of these other organizations were developing and declining, the Grange was recovering. Immediately following 1920, the great push forward came in commodity co-operatives. The co-operative marketing associations of all kinds, plus the general farmers' organizations, carried the farmer movement to flood tide. It is doubtful whether, since 1873 or 1874, there has been a year in American history when there haven't been at least 500,000 farmer members of these organizations. At the crests of high tides, the number has probably reached into the millions. Today the total membership of all the farmers' organizations, is, without question, greater than it has ever been before.

Looked at in the light of the survey of facts just given, it ought to be apparent that the present farmer discontent is representative of something more than the propaganda of one or two militant farm organizations. It is and always has been a concomitant of farm price depressions, but in addition to that it is a psychosocial phenomenon similar to the labor movement, the temperance, and other movements that I have mentioned.

III. HOW A MOVEMENT DEVELOPS AND OPERATES

Psychologically a movement gathers momentum slowly. At its high tides, however, it moves with evangelistic fervor and almost with mob fury. The Grange moved slowly for four years and then seemed suddenly to catch fire. At the end of the year 1871, after two years of incubation and two years of actual propagation, it had 161 subordinate Granges or community locals. During the next year it added 1,105.² During the year 1873, it added 8,568 locals and then added more than 2,000 per month for the first three months of the year 1874.³ The Alliance repeated this story, as did the Farmers' Union, the Non-Partisan League, the Farm Bureau, and a number of large commodity marketing organizations.

Movements emerge and crystallize in a way like institutions and laws. The first stage of development is that of a fairly wide

² O. H. Kelley, *History of the Patrons of Husbandry*.

³ S. J. Buck, *The Granger Movement*.

discontent which finds expression in street, road, or cross-fence gossip and conversation. The second stage is usually initiated by some already existing agency or organization developing discussion or sponsoring addresses upon the subject of discontent or maladjustment. It was the churches in the temperance movement; the clubs in the woman's movement; and the country debating societies, horse-thief protective associations, and a few other local community organizations in the farmer movement which furnished the media for the second stage of the American movements. The third stage is that of separate and formally planned units of organization for mobilizing membership and influence and furnishing a technology for the propagation of the movement and its doctrines. In the fourth stage, or maybe only as a supplement to the third stage, there is likely to appear pamphleteering, the publication of house organs, and the writing of books as means of propagation and even propaganda. The final stage is that of legislative demands, the organization of lobbies, platforms, parties, referenda, etc., and a determined campaign to inculcate remedies into law. It is easy to note the similarity and in some cases the identity of these stages in the five American movements mentioned. The farmer movement, like the temperance, woman's, abolition, and labor movements has followed the trend from incoherent discontent to specific demands for legal remedies. The space of this paper will not permit of many details but clear examples are to be found in the period of the seventies, the eighties, and early nineties and at the present time. The combined Alliance movement started as a horse-thief protective association in Texas, a debating club in Arkansas, and a chance discussion at a cemetery in Louisiana. It grew with the same rapidity and by means of the same type of promotion as did the Grange. It soon set up its own national and state organs, published a number of books, began early to make political demands and, finally, went down with the wreck of the Populist party and free silver campaign. At its height it was moving with a greater faith and confidence than the Grange had during the period when it was controlling legislations, electing governors and state supreme judges.

No movement could develop without the existence of a degree of "class consciousness." The most pronounced example of this is

generally said to be laborers in the labor movement. Certainly it was clear cut, though not universal, in the woman's movement.

The farmers of the United States have had little class consciousness in comparison with that demonstrated by the farmers of some of the older nations or even in comparison with the farmers of some of the provinces of Canada. Each large farmers' organization has its official publication, many times a great number of state organs and, sometimes, even county and township publications. In addition to these publications, there are the thousands of group meetings in which farm people meet regularly, and these meetings in and of themselves are fuel to the slow flame of rising class consciousness. Meetings during the periods of organization are generally high propagandic, militant, and even inflammatory. The demands of farmer organizations upon candidates, legislatures, and congress are widely circulated and become known and sanctioned by thousands of farmers who do not even hold membership in any farmer organization. During the high tides of the farmer movement, class consciousness has been pronounced and even violent. It is doubtful whether movements would go at all if they did not have these recurring high tides to build up class consciousness and stimulate group morale.

Class conflict, too, is almost universally a part of all movements. The highest degree of group homogeneity is developed when class interests are tilted against some other class or interest. The railroads were the butt of the Granger attack in the seventies. The banks and the currency were singled out for attack by the Alliance. The Grain Exchange and the railroads constituted the theme of the Non-Partisan League attack. Tariff and price inequality constitute the heart of the present farmer discontent. Monopoly was the battle cry of all the farmer organizations of the last century. The middle-man group has been attacked by all farmers' organizations, and as was said before, the price and market régime is almost as near the heart of the farmer movement as wages and hours are the heart of the labor movement.

Certain other prejudices are exceedingly common in their repeated expression throughout the whole seventy years of the farmer movement. From the organization of the Grange to very recent

time, phrases that have been very common are "monopoly" and "non-producing classes." "Wall Street" has been anathema and governmental officials have been accused of playing into the hands of "speculators."

Above everything else is the fact that a movement develops upon the basis of a constituency which is a "public." It is not the part of this paper to develop a new theory of publics or even to quote any of the several definitions of a public. It will suffice to point out that occupational groupings of persons, either by themselves or others, is fertile soil in which to germinate a public. The development of a set of common issues or the appearance of what is thought to be a common enemy serves to integrate otherwise relatively diverse elements of a population into a public.

The farmer movement, at its points of highest tension, or periods of greatest integration and homogeneity, is quite definitely a public in action. This public is built out of common psychoses which grow out of a degree of identity in occupation and occupational techniques. Because, however, types of occupation in farming are more diverse than those represented in trade unions and because no set of farm organizations has been effected comparable to the bureaucratic scheme of the American Federation of Labor, the farm public is highly integrated only at times when practically all types of farming are subjected to a wide-spread economic depression or when the issue of farm prosperity is clearly tilted against some other occupational group or set of economic enterprises. The four outstanding examples of clear-cut farm publics in the history of the farmer movement in the United States are the Granger era, growing out of the post-Civil War adjustments; the Alliance and Populist era, evolving about the deflation of the currency; the Non-Partisan League episode, organized to combat what the North Dakota farmers thought was a grain monopoly; and the whole set of farm organization and legislative activities, growing out of the present post-war era and tilted against this so-called era of commercial and industrial prosperity. Furthermore, the development of commercial agriculture has created, to a degree, a common constituency out of all types of farmers.

The farmers, during the periods of their highest public in-

tegrity, operate according to the typical techniques of all publics. They move upon a minimum of analysis and a maximum of slogans and shibboleths. Many of us remember the phrase and even the song of the populist period, "the farmer is the man who feeds them all." We are all familiar with the most current slogan of the present era, "Equality for Agriculture." There is a series of pictures that carries the same motif from the Granger era of the seventies to the present time which weaves together the ideas of these two shibboleths.

Songs, poems, symbols, trade-marks, slogans, shibboleths, and trite sayings have all played their part in the operation of the farmer public. They are techniques by which publics in general operate and they are specially valuable and probably necessary as methods of creating class consciousness and morale and more necessary yet as ways and means of interpreting issues to the masses who are absolutely essential to the successful development and continuance of a movement.

IV. CONCLUDING GENERALIZATIONS

1. The battle for farmer economic, social, and political adjustments is persistent and of long duration because, on the one hand, the right of the conditions challenged is deep set and, on the other hand, the felt maladjustments are persistent in the lives of large segments of the population.

2. A long gamut of psychosocial phenomena are represented in the development and operation of a movement. The study of a movement, therefore, leads to an analysis of class consciousness, group conflict, specialized publics, class prejudices, the techniques of almost all kinds of public gatherings, many techniques and technologies of promotion and propaganda, shibboleths, slogans, even creeds and rituals and of course, leadership and social status.

3. Light is thrown on causes for the origin, growth, and decline of any specific movement by correlating its cycle with other cultural trends such as those of the geographic, economic, political, religious, and possibly ethnic factors.

4. There is both a similarity and a difference between movements and revolutions and revolts. The object in all cases is to correct what is thought to be wide-spread and persistent social mal-

adjustments. The difference between the peasant revolts or green uprisings of ancient and medieval periods and modern farmer movements is probably to be explained in terms of the different cultural milieu in which they appeared. A movement is the method in a dynamic or so-called democratic society which attempts to accomplish the same things which had to be accomplished by revolts in the static or so-called autocratic and feudal society.

5. When we contemplate the wide differences between different types of farmers, it is easy to understand why, after three-quarters of a century of organized endeavor, the farmer movement is yet little more than incipient. When we contemplate the relatively few opportunities farmers have to participate in group meetings of a parliament, debating, or group discussion type, it will become apparent that a heightening of farm issues and the constructing of various, even numerous farmer organizations with the meetings conducted on a debating or discussion basis lends much to the formation of farm publics, and, thus, how farm organizations are not only an index to the farmer movement but are generators and transmitters of the movement.

6. It was the coming of commercial agriculture, the casting of practically all entrepreneur farmers into the price and market régime, that has given homogeneity or integrity to the farmer class. Thus has developed something approaching a public technique on the part of farmers and by means of this technique, the farmer movement has developed, expanded, and will continue until the maladjustments of markets, prices, standards of living, and class status are adjusted or until the farmer loses his fight in an attempt to become once more an integral part of the culture and civilization to which he believes he is essential.

STUDIES IN RURAL LEADERSHIP

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ABSTRACT

From the standpoint of the sociology of leadership, the following types may be distinguished (1) static leaders, (2) executive leaders, (3) professional leaders, and (4) group leaders. The position of leader is a group-mechanism. Three functions of this leader mechanism are that the leader is the group planner, the group spokesman, and the group harmonizer. An important question is whether leadership depends upon certain qualities of the individual, either innate or acquired, or whether it is due primarily to the relation of the individual to the group situation. A study of about one hundred cases of dynamic-infusive leadership was made from the standpoint of the psychology of leadership. Extracts from a few cases are presented to show the part which emotion plays in leadership by changing thought into action. They also indicate types of leaders like the instigator and the director and those which impress the group and those which express the group.

The rapid increase in the number of organizations of farm men and women during the last decade has created two problems, namely, (1) how to secure and keep competent leaders of the local groups; and (2) to recruit from them, county, state, and national leaders. There has been an insistent demand for more information concerning the nature of leadership and how leaders may be developed. To meet this demand, we made for several years an analysis of the sociology of leadership. This led to the conviction that, if we are to have such a knowledge of leadership as will enable us to stimulate and guide its development, we shall need an adequate knowledge of the psychology of leadership. This resulted in a specific project of research in charge of the junior author. This paper, therefore, undertakes to set forth some general points of view with regard to these two aspects of leadership and to give some account of methods and hypotheses.

¹ For the section on the "Sociology of Leadership" the senior author is chiefly responsible. The other section of the paper presents the approach to the psychology of the problem by the junior author who is devoting most of his time to the securing of case studies.

I. SOCIOLOGY OF LEADERSHIP¹

First, let us consider the sociological aspect of leadership. We shall attempt no definition of leadership, for to do so would be to predetermine the object of our inquiry. Rather we shall assume the common sense notions of leadership and seek to distinguish different types and to study those types which are most significant for rural organization.

The first class of leaders may be termed "so-called" or static leaders. It includes business and professional leaders, leaders in thought, the sort of folks who are found in *Who's Who*, etc. As a matter of fact these people may or may not function as leaders. They are commonly called leaders because they are outstanding individuals, ahead of the rank and file in ability or achievement; but as to whether they really exercise any real leadership over their associates, and, if so, in what capacity and under what circumstances, is an entirely different matter. Because a man has attained distinction in business or professional life that fact by no means makes him a leader of his fellows, although it is an asset in his favor.

From a sociological standpoint, this sort of leadership has very little significance and any analysis of these outstanding individuals will throw little light on the origin or development of group leadership. An excellent example of a recent attempt of this sort is a study by Sorokin and Zimmerman,² of supposed farmer leaders made by an analysis of their biographies as contained in *Rus*—the *Who's Who* of American agriculture. The difficulty is that this selection is composed almost wholly of employed and professional people who may be leaders of agriculture, but who are not necessarily farmer leaders any more than school teachers are necessarily children's leaders. Consequently the analysis of this sort of material tells us very little about real farmer leaders.

The second type of leaders usually described in the literature on leadership is that which includes military, political, and business-executive leaders, the military geniuses, the statesmen, and the captains of industry. We group these together because their leadership rests upon authority, power, and force, and carries with it the idea of acting as director of the enterprise. It is, of course, increas-

¹ P. A. Sorokin and C. C. Zimmerman, *et al*, "Farmer Leaders in the United States," *Social Forces*, VIII (September 1928), 33.

ingly understood that the best leader in any of these spheres uses as little authority as possible, and that his success as a leader depends upon the degree to which he eschews authority and relies on the voluntary loyalty of the group. Yet the mechanism of the relationship is based on power and authority and it is only when the rare man transcends this relationship and creates a new group bond of personal loyalty to himself, that authority is not more or less in evidence. However important the study of this type of leadership may be for military leaders and business executives, it does not help us much toward an understanding of rural leadership.

The third class of leaders may be termed "professional" leaders, as it includes all employed leaders, such as clergymen, teachers, school principals, and superintendents, employed executives of all sorts of religious, philanthropic, civic, and fraternal organizations, social workers, extension workers, etc. The professional leader is more or less temporary, he is employed, and he is not a member of the local group. He is a hired leader and his chief characteristic is that he is a professional, i.e., he has a degree of expertness in his particular field. The professional leader has an important place to fill, but as a leader *per se* he has been much overrated. His real function is to act as stimulus and educator. Very often he impedes real progress in social organization by thinking of himself as a group leader when, as a matter of fact, his assumption of leadership is the chief obstacle to the development of true native leadership. The true function of the professional leader³ should be to develop as many leaders as possible; to bring them new ideas and counsel, and then to depend upon them for the real group leadership.

Professional leaders have been chiefly responsible for the rapid increase of leaders of rural groups in the last decade, but the ablest of these professionals are the ones who most appreciate that this stimulation of local leadership is their chief job and who most desire any knowledge which sociology and psychology may contribute toward a technology of leadership.

This brings us to the last and most important type of leaders, whether we are considering rural or urban leadership, namely, local

³ His function has been very clearly analyzed by Professor Julian E. Butterworth in his *Rural School Administration*, chap. x-xi.

or group leaders. By group leaders we would designate those who actively lead local groups, such as granges, churches, farm bureaus, farmers' clubs, lodges, co-operative associations, women's clubs, etc., the multiform variety of voluntary associations which form the texture of organized society both in city and country. It is these local group leaders who make for the success or failure of any enterprise. When we hear a professional leader say that progress in any given community is impossible for lack of leadership, he refers to the lack of efficient leaders of local groups. Leaders there usually are of one sort or another; but if they are weak or incapable, we say that leadership is lacking.

The most fundamental concept of sociology with regard to leadership is that the leader is always a member of a group, that the position of leader is a group mechanism. Consequently, the sociology of leadership involves a description of the place of the leader in the group, how this position arises and functions. At present we can but sketch the barest outline of such a description.

With regard to the genesis of the leader-group relationship it should be noted that the leader may himself have created a following, either purposively or unconsciously, or he may have been drafted by the group to unify and represent its interests and, thereby, have been forced into a position of leadership even against his personal preference. In the one case the leader creates the group, in the other, the group creates the leader. Accordingly the psychology of the leader-group relationship is fundamentally different in the two cases.

The importance of recognizing the leader as a group mechanism lies in the fact that those with no knowledge of sociology tend to think of the leader as a leader of a number of discrete individuals, and do not appreciate that he is always a member of a group and that the position of leader is an essential mechanism for effective group organization.

In so far as human groups act with any degree of intelligence and do not maintain themselves as do animal groups merely through instinctive activities and adaptation through natural selection, it is due to the degree that group members are able to exchange their ideas and form a consensus of opinion, and to whether there is some

means of interpreting what action will best meet the common needs and wishes of the group. It is the function of the leader to be the means whereby this process can be accelerated and the group can act more efficiently. Among primitive peoples and young children, leadership is feeble; there is little recognition of leadership, and the organization of the group is weak for that reason. Without a leader each member of the group talks to another and gradually they may come to a common understanding, but if immediate decision in a critical situation is desired this method is too slow for effective action. Inevitably some individuals in every group are superior to others in physique, in mentality, and in assertiveness, whether due to Nature or nurture. Such individuals in time of crisis will see the need of the group and will inspire the confidence of their fellows so that the group will accept their suggestions and will tend to look to them to take the lead in carrying them out. As mankind has progressed in social organization the leader has been increasingly recognized as an effective mechanism of the group.

Some of the functions of this leader-mechanism in the life of the group are as follows: (1) He is the group planner. He really leads only in so far as he is always just a little ahead of the group in seeing its needs and in planning ways of meeting them. (2) He is the group spokesman. If the group is to have relations with other groups, someone must be able to state the group opinion. (3) He is the group harmonizer. The leader is successful in so far as he is able to magnify the common interests of the group so that its members inhibit their differences upon other subjects with other members of the group and come to some agreement and give common support to the policies and activities of the group.

The temporal aspect of the relationship of the leader to the group is also of importance in its sociological interpretation. Leadership tends to change with the changing needs of the group. When new situations arise and the old leader fails to appreciate the real desires of most of the group or is unable to suggest effective working plans for its action, then some one who is more *en rapport* and who sees the solution of the situation comes forward and is recognized as leader. Thus leadership is not merely a matter of innate qualities or of general training, for one type of man will make an excellent

leader in one situation, whereas a decidedly different type may be necessary to conserve his predecessor's successes.

This brings us to a consideration of one of the most important phases of the problem of leadership from a practical standpoint, namely, is the ability to lead dependent on certain qualities of the individual, either innate or acquired, or is it primarily due to the relation of the individual to the group situation. If we seek to recruit leadership for certain enterprises, should we endeavor to find it or to create it? There seems to be no question that there are certain qualities of personality the possession of which make for successful leadership. On the other hand, how frequently have new situations created crises which have called out new qualities in individuals, which have aroused purposes and devotion and have made seemingly ordinary individuals assume positions of leadership for which they themselves realized their limitations better than anyone else, but who have succeeded because of their loyalty to the group's objectives. Because certain individuals have a certain self-assertiveness and self-confidence and are willing to assume responsibility and criticism, we have gained the notion that there are certain characteristics of leadership which either exist in such individuals or which can be imparted to them by training, and that these general qualities of leadership will function under various situations. It is impossible, to satisfactorily explore this point of view at this time. Suffice it to say that it is our conviction that such a notion gives a false basis for the maintenance of successful leadership. The fundamental *sine qua non* of the successful leader is his willingness to serve and his loyalty to group welfare.

Nevertheless, whether this be true or not, it is at present largely the result of general observation and a priori reasoning. If we are to have any scientific knowledge of leadership, the essential thing is to observe and study leadership as it actually functions and to describe it upon a basis of ascertained and tested facts. It has seemed to us, therefore, that the essential method to secure a scientific knowledge of leadership is to observe a large number of cases of what might be termed primary or elementary leadership, cases in which the leader has come into his position of leadership for the first time and in which the origin of this relationship might be

traced. First we should ascertain how the leader-led relationship arises, then how it is maintained, and finally how it breaks down. In short we desire to know the natural history of leadership. This study of the process of leadership is essentially a study of the psychological process of the individual leader and of the led in this relationship. Therefore, although we shall accumulate data concerning the sociology of leadership through the cases studied, our primary aim in the beginning of our research is to secure data for a psychological description of the process of leadership.

II. PSYCHOLOGY OF LEADERSHIP

For the purpose of this study the widest connotation of the term leadership includes that which comes first in the category of human experience under consideration. This, however, is too broad a field for our immediate consideration.

That section of the field wherein leadership consists of a state of being first, as found in such cases as the leading brand of soap, leading inventors, leading discoverers, and leaders in scientific thought, etc., might be grouped together under the caption static leadership. Into this class would fall cases having the connotation of such words as "primacy," first in order; "supremacy," first in degree or power; "hegemony," first in interstate power; and "dominance," first in governing power.

A study of static leadership should yield abundantly toward meeting the popular demand for information on how such individuals achieve their greatness. Many cases described in the literature hint at the fact that such leaders seem to be loath to yield to the demands of society. Most all of them are failures in formal education and all of them follow with ardor the things which interest them. All refuse to be jammed through the mold and insist on following their own bents. If the end product of their waywardness is socially acceptable, the leader becomes famous; if not acceptable, he becomes infamous.

The concept static leadership, as a state of being, logically suggests a dichotomy with leadership in action on the other side. This side may be called dynamic leadership. Excluding from present consideration that form of leadership which involves direct action

through contact, we have left in this part of the field that leadership wherein the leader sets off a force within the led which demands action toward a specific goal, a force which is similar to, although not necessarily identical with, that which actuates the leader toward the same goal. This force is that which accompanies an emotional state, whatever the emotion may be, with all of its actions and tendencies to act. This we have dubbed dynamic-infusive leadership and have set about to describe it psychologically by observing its actual workings.

Pursuant to this we have entered the field by inquiring from logical sources, such as local newspapers, county agricultural and home demonstration agents, etc., what purely local organizations were or had been in existence about which information concerning its leadership could be gathered. In this way local organizations were studied through their officers and in many instances traced back to their inception. In these cases testimony was taken in regard to the actual starting of the movements or organizations and material for a description of the instigator was secured. So far we have gathered data on about one hundred cases showing the relation of leaders to such organizations, some random samples of which will be summarized.

Before presenting the actual cases it should be noted that a request for information about an organization or movement from its parent calls forth a response from a total set which is often long and elaborate. We have found it very inadvisable to interfere with this original response. It seems to demand expression and attempts to thwart it by changing the attention to another point of view, are futile in the face of that demand. Allowing that first response is also advisable because no objection is raised to taking notes on those first rationalizations, and very seldom are objections raised to taking notes when once it is started. So when the one interviewed has completely responded to this urge and his system is cleaned of his old set, he is able to attend the matter from a new point of view. In this way field notes were gathered which consist of questions and answers between the interviewer and the leaders.

In one small rural community there was found a civics club, recently formed. Upon finding the leader, she was asked to tell, among other things,

about the starting of the club, and why she organized it. To this the lady said that in their village there were many things that were every one's business and yet no one's business, and that the result was that civic tasks were being slighted. In order to get these tasks done, she said she had organized the public spirited citizens and told them the things that she had in mind which needed doing. The group responded readily and did a great deal of public work.

After the woman had exhausted her account of the organization, its formations and operations, she was asked to recall when she first had thought of forming the club. To this she declared that she had had it in mind for years, but when the question was changed to when she first thought of making some specific step toward the actual formation of the club, she recalled that the minister of the Baptist church had issued a call for the women of the village to clean the church. She had responded to this call and had found to her consternation that only one other woman had similarly responded. In describing her feelings at this situation she declared irately, "this made me mad and I decided that the women of this community, and the men, too, could do their share of the work."

Anger is, of course, one of the well-known emotions and the resulting action is comprehensible in psychology. Akin to it, if not actually the same, we find cases where the stopping of actions or plans for action, as was the case with John Watson's babies, as well as those in the Pavlov laboratories, was the forerunner of emotion and its accompanying action.

A choral society was formed by a woman who had recently moved into a community. The woman was a trained musician, and, in an attempt to establish herself in the town, had given a musical recital. This, she said, was poorly attended and not appreciated by those who did attend. She said that she did not receive applause. This, perhaps, would lend some evidence to her original statement that she had started the society to raise the level of musical appreciation in the town, but she added freely, upon further questioning, that she wished it raised so that she could carry out her original plan of performing before an appreciative audience and receiving applause.

We pause over this case long enough to bring out a point in the technic of gathering the data. We were informed by the county agricultural agent, the home bureau manager, and the superintendent of the schools, when working on this case, that a Mrs. A was the leader of the local choral society. Although Mrs. A admitted that she was the leader and founder of the organization, she recalled that her first steps toward forming the club followed a conversation with Mrs. B. It was through this admission that we were able to

find the leader in the case just recited, for, to the public, Mrs. B played a silent and passive part. She said that she had persuaded Mrs. A, who had taught music in the public schools there for years, to start the club because she was already well established in the community both socially and professionally.

A similar case to the one just given was the starting of a community house. The leader in this enterprise was moved to action when a gathering of young people, of which he was a member, disbanded at the request of their host. They had been playing some game which necessitated running and during the game some furniture was upset and some chinaware broken.

A somewhat different case was that of a minister's wife who told us about calling in a woman of her husband's congregation who, she said, had some executive ability, and by guided conversation and carefully put questions, made this woman think of a plan whereby all of the woman's societies of the church could be united into one, with committees and subgroups to take up special lines of endeavor. The plan was enthusiastically accepted by the women of that church, and the women of churches near and far. In answer to when she first took steps toward starting this consolidation she said that the Ladies' Aid was about to meet for the purpose of electing officers and that, by inquiry, she had found out that there was no woman in the congregation who would take the presidency. This situation, she thought, must be avoided to save her husband's reputation as pastor and leader of his flock.

Thus fear or dread also moves to action.

A literary club was formed in 1895 by a woman who has been the leader of the organization ever since. In answer to the question as to how she happened to start the club she said, "I had just returned home from a teaching position in college so that I could be with my aged mother. I had been away from home for some time during which I had gone through college and had done a few years of graduate work. Then I taught English in the college of which I spoke. Upon returning home I had occasion to and did go out a great deal socially. I was greatly disappointed in the social conditions I found in my home town, i.e., I found all of the women too interested in other people's affairs, gossip, and scandal, and I thought that, if this interest could be redirected, it would be a good thing for the community. So we started this club."

Q. Do you recall when, and under what circumstances, you decided to take definite steps to start this specific club?

A. Yes. I was at that time associating with a very bright woman, but she was altogether too much interested in other peoples' affairs to the exclusion of other things. She was an idle curiosity. Well that woman's talk would sometimes exasperate me and I would frequently have to change the subject, which was very easy to do, for she like all gossips, was very responsive. It was during one of these times that I thought of a way to give this woman something to talk about.

Many hints might be taken from a close study of this case, but for the present let us note that the leader was "exasperated" at her friend's talk. The balance of her observations might throw more light on her emotional state. These are given in some detail to illustrate the sort of material secured and which will be used in analysis of other phases of leadership.

In explaining how she got her set against the local gossip this leader reported:

I remember hearing a conversation on our telephone line, it is a party line, you know. One would say right away that I shouldn't have been listening, but this time it was quite unavoidable. I was holding the line for a long distance call when they did their talking. Anyway one of the women said, "Did you know that the L's have moved into the N's house?" The other said, "Oh no they haven't. I've been watching the place now right along and I would have seen them." Answer, "Oh but they have moved in, I saw them moving the furniture in. It was at ten minutes after two." Reply, "Oh well, come to think of it, I went down to the store at that time so they must have moved in while I was away."

Q. What method did you use to get members for your club?

A. Well I discussed it with three or four of my friends. Next I invited all of the women that the three or four of us thought would be good members to come to my house at a certain time, but I did not tell the bunch I invited what it was about so that they wouldn't all have crystallized plans about the organization and what it should and should not do. Then when I had them all assembled I just announced that we would have a literary club. I invited forty women whom I thought had bright active minds. One of them was the wife of the local blacksmith. My friends advised me against taking her into the group on the ground that she was not fit, but just as I guessed she turned out to be an excellent worker. She always did her assignment and did it thoroughly.

These samples were chosen chiefly to show the part that emotion plays in dynamic-infusive leadership, that is, in changing thought into action. Many other things might be revealed from the notes, but because of a lack of time we shall only hint at a few.

In the study of leadership in connection with some specific movement, two kinds of leadership become apparent. One is in response to the force which starts the movement and the other is that which directs it after it is started. In many instances both functions are filled by one leader and in many cases they are not. The director is, we believe, what Goethe had in mind when he defined the leader as the *König* man, i.e., the man who can. The butler's per-

formance in Sir James Barrie's play *Admirable Crichton* is a good example. Many interesting combinations of instigator and director can be observed.

We might also consider types of leaders that impress the group and types that express the group. These in turn could be further divided into volunteer, drafted, general, specialized, temporary, permanent, conscious, unconscious, professional, amateur, personal, impersonal, and probably other types.

The matter of method in leadership is also considered. In this aspect of leadership we find the leader convincing the following that the proposed project is one in which it has a personal interest. This is done directly or indirectly through the sense departments appealing to emotions for action in response to a command, direction, or guidance. When the emotion appealed to is fear, we have the line running from the schoolground bully through officer, boss, manager, and on up to the executive. In each case force can be used. The salesman, orator, teacher, statesman, and those held up as examples because of prestige, are leaders who appeal to other emotions than fear. Dr. William Burnham's formula "a task, a plan, and freedom" probably best explains the method of the director.

Attributes of leadership are here considered to exist only in the mind of the led. A leader is this to one and that to another, but it is only the judgment of the led that makes a leader. He is leader only by virtue of having a following.

The parts of this paper in which attempts have been made to outline leadership should be considered as purely logical and made for the purpose of study only. A historical study of any specific leader might include many points in the outline, depending upon the time at which the leader is studied and the point of view of the study. The parts of an outline here presented were made for the study of leadership as it is found in connection with some specific movement or organization.

We shall not attempt to make any conclusion, although we point out that the change from thought to action, psychologically speaking, is through an emotional state, and that the arousal of this emotional state seems dependent upon an emotional set. That thought changes into action by way of emotion has its implications.

W. B. Cannon, of Harvard, has shown the characteristic physiological state of emotion, and the same state was found for each emotion studied. If with all emotions we find this set for action, might we not look for the reverse, i.e., look for emotion where we find action? In this study of leadership from the point of view of psychology, we have found evidence of this. Later we shall take up other phases of the study such as the relationship of the leader to the led and methods of leadership. From the evidence we now have, it seems probable that emotion will here also play a major rôle.

URBANIZATION AS MEASURED BY NEWSPAPER CIRCULATION¹

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ABSTRACT

This paper is predicated on the assumption that culture, since it is based finally on communication, is always more or less a local phenomenon. In so far as this assumption is valid, every community having its own local tradition and its own institutions may be regarded as a cultural unit. The cultural and political organization of the community invariably tends to conform, and when the community achieves a stable organization it will conform to the economic. Changes in economic relations, under these circumstances, may be accepted as an index of changes that are taking place or impending in cultural life. Recent studies indicate that within the limits of the metropolitan-areas of great cities, a process of devolution is going on. Changes in the metropolitan areas of great cities are identical in kind with the changes that are taking place in the whole region which the metropolis, with its satellites, dominates. Business and industry is moving out to the smaller cities, increasing their population to be sure, but changing still more their character and function. The smaller cities are beginning to assume the rôle of the larger urban centers. The changes which are taking place are embodied, on the one hand, in the concentration of individual business units, as, for example, in our chain store; on the other hand, as represented in our chain store in an orderly dispersion of these units throughout the whole metropolitan area. This process of devolution, therefore, is not so complete as to impair the organization which was achieved through the movement toward concentration and consolidation. Though the units are dispersed, financial control and administrative organization remains at the center. The changes taking place are really in the direction of a more complete and more efficient organization. In the small towns or villages the population is stationary and they are losing their original character as independent units. They are, in short, becoming satellites of the small cities. All of these changes are very accurately reflected in newspaper circulation.

¹ The article appeared in the *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXV (July, 1929), 60-79.

DIVISION ON SOCIAL RESEARCH

THE CASE STUDY OF THE FARM FAMILY AS A METHOD OF RURAL RESEARCH

E. L. KIRKPATRICK, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

To date, scientific investigation of the farm family has been limited to statistical study, primarily study of the standard of living by the survey method. Through personal interviews, field agents have obtained from approximately five thousand families estimates of the quantities and costs or values of the different kinds of goods, facilities, and services used during a year for living purposes. Usually these agents obtained estimates of the length of work-day and the amount of time spent daily in relaxation by adult members of the family.

The 5,000 families represent more than a dozen localities of different farming regions, from near the bottom level of agriculture on the one hand to near the top level on the other. The average prevailing standard of living, in terms of cost or value of all goods used annually for family living purposes, ranged from less than \$1,000 per family for the "poorer farming" localities to more than \$2,000 per family for the "better farming" localities. For separate families the cost or value of goods used annually ranged from less than \$300 per family to more than \$6,000 per family, with much overlapping among the different groups. The percentage distribution of the cost or value among the principal groups of goods varied accordingly. The average length of work-day and the average time spent daily in relaxation by adult members of the family varied much less widely than did average values of goods used per year.

These studies of prevailing standards of living show the value of goods and the proportion of family living furnished from the farm, the distribution of the value of goods among the principal classes or kinds, and the average hours of work and leisure for adult members of the family. Also, they indicate something of the relation of schooling of parents, use of time, and ability to provide to the prevailing standard of living. Finally, they provide many case stories which are suggestive of wide divergencies in the structure and functioning of the family in its relation to the individual and to local institutions, organizations, and agencies. The following stories taken from notes kept by a standard of living field worker are germane. The families described are those nearest a certain one-room, open-country schoolhouse in which an active parent-teacher association, a farmers' club, and a 4-H club are centered. All the families are about equally accessible to the school as well as to a village in

which is centered a farmers' co-operative creamery and livestock shipping association.

Three of the families visited today have about the same prevailing standard of living, considerably above average for the group. The farms, adjacent to one another, are about the same size and have the same land value per acre. All are similar in lay of land, layout of farmstead, and appearance of farm buildings. The houses are all painted and in good repair and the lawns and surroundings are well kept in each instance. None of the three houses are modern. All have about the same type of furnishings. Each family has a radio, but none have pianos or phonographs. The three families are owners by purchase, A and B each having lived in their present locations eight years, and C fifteen years. Family A has one child, a girl seven years old; B has two children, a girl ten years old and a boy twelve years old; C has two children, boy and girl twins, thirteen years old. All these children attend the district school.

Parents in families A and C have had some high-school work or its equivalent; parents in family B have had only eighth grade schooling.

Families A and C have about the same reading matter, including local paper, daily paper, farm journals and magazines. B takes no daily paper, a few farm journals, and no general magazines. Family B attended church services regularly the past year; families A and C did not attend. Each of the three families has the same local group affiliations, that is, farmers' club, parent-teacher association, and 4-H club, except for the girl in family A who is under 4-H club age.¹ All attend their club programs regularly, but members of family B seldom participate except to furnish food and other material things for suppers and bazaars.

In addition to local clubs, Mr. A is township supervisor and Mr. C is president of a shipping association centered in the nearby village.

Families A and C appear to be getting the maximum of values from living in this particular locality or neighborhood. The activities attended and participated in appear to "register" their effect in the family life and in the general outlook of the different persons composing the family. Here are two of the "homiest" homes I have ever visited. On the other hand, family B is getting less than the optimum of values from attendance at the local club meetings as well as from close association with families A and C. This appeared to be true of Mr. B especially, who refused to discuss the local club situation and preferred that neither he nor Mrs. B be bothered by "outsiders."

Again,

The four homes visited today stress the need for intensive study of the farm family. The four places were much alike—equally bad in both exterior and interior appearance. The houses were old and dilapidated. Lawns were all poorly kept, and back porches were about equally cluttered with pails, trash, and dirt. All the four families were below the average prevailing standard of living for the district.

Families D and E were owners, thirty-two and ten years respectively in their present locations. Families F and G were tenants, each having been only one year on the farms they were operating. Family D has one child, an adopted boy three years old; E has three ranging from two to six years old; F has three ranging from two to seven years old; G has six ranging from two to nine years old. Mrs. D and

¹ Local groups here means those centered at the schoolhouse.

Mrs. E, with some high school work and Mrs. F with a normal school training have been teachers. None of the other five parents have had more than eight grades of schooling. None of the four families had any church affiliations during the past year.

Mr. and Mrs. D are actively affiliated with the farmers' club. Mrs. D is president, has especially good support, and presided well at the group meeting which I attended. She will take the 4-H club leadership next year in an effort to direct the social activities of boys and girls in the community. Both Mr. and Mrs. D appear to be getting maximum values from their organization activities and efforts and these merge with certain values of family life, for while home surroundings, house and furnishings are below average, they do afford an air of "hominess" not found in many more elaborate farm houses.

Family E has only one member affiliated with a club, Mrs. E who belongs to the parent-teacher association. She attends all of the meetings as well as some of the farmers' club meetings. Although quite capable, she takes no part in the meetings. Her favorite pastimes are "fishing" and "talking over the telephone." Her husband likes to go hunting. She can not get him to attend any of the club meetings. Few or no values appear to be exchanged from home to outside organizations or agencies or vice versa in this family.

Mr. and Mrs. F who have lived one year in their present location, have all possible local club affiliations. They attend regularly and participate in programs as opportunities arise. Mrs. F has taken the initiative for the parent-teacher association in obtaining the physical examination of all children attending the local school.

Values from group affiliations and activities are reflected in the home life of family F, although house and household equipment are much below average. Both Mr. and Mrs. F regret their having to move next spring owing to their inability to make their rent the past year.

Family G has no club or organization affiliation of any sort. Mrs. G says she would like to attend some of the meetings, but Mr. G does not care to, and refuses to stay with the children while she goes. His favorite pastime, like that of his brother, Mr. E, is hunting. Mrs. G says her favorite pastime is gardening.

These stories, with others which are available, are suggestive of the existing interrelations within the family and between the family and other social groups. Their chief value, however, is in their picturization of the need for more intensive study by the case method.

As here used, the case method means a comprehensive study, around the family as a unit, of the personal history, rôle, and status of the individual in relation to agencies, organizations, and institutions of the community. A thorough case study will involve the stationing of a tactful, well-qualified investigator in a chosen community for a given period, say a year. To facilitate in obtaining information pertaining to the individual and the family, this investigator may serve the community on a part-time basis as a play director or other subsidized worker. Stories obtained and observations recorded by him will be supplemented with data gathered by additional field-workers for a complete summary of farm business activities and prevailing standards of living.

This intensive case-study is not proposed as a substitute for study of the farmers' standard of living by the survey method. It is offered as a technique

for getting a clearer perception and understanding of the structural and functional aspects of family life in the rural community than can be obtained by the survey method alone.

The statistical studies of the standard of living should be continued for the following purposes: To develop further quantitative and qualitative measures of goods, facilities, and services constituting the prevailing standards of living; to show further comparisons of the prevailing standards of living of different groups of families; to afford case stories which suggest differences in family structure and functioning; and, finally, to form a part of the intensive case-study here proposed as the next possible step in ascertaining the part which the farm family plays in the social process.

CASE ANALYSIS OF SCIENTIFIC METHODS EMPLOYED IN CONTRIBUTIONS TO SOCIAL SCIENCE¹

STUART A. RICE, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

The Committee on Scientific Method had its inception in 1923, at the second meeting of the newly formed Social Science Research Council. Its sponsor, and for five years its devoted Chairman, was Professor Horace Secrist of Northwestern University. The Committee grew out of a recognition, to quote the first Chairman of the Council, of "the vital importance of more severely scientific methods" in its field. It took as its task "a study of the problems of scientific method in the social sciences which would define, illustrate, and clarify the issues at stake."

Various tangible alternatives by means of which the Committee could begin this task were proposed:

1. Some prominent specialist with a broad philosophic outlook might be engaged to write a general treatise upon the nature of scientific method in social science. It was objected that this proposal would be too dependent upon the capacities and viewpoints of a single individual. Such a treatise would necessarily be biased, and largely speculative.

2. Quotations from various contributions to social science might be compiled with the intent of illustrating social science in the making. Had this procedure been followed, the reader himself would have been left to infer the methodological issues and principles involved.

3. A symposium by specialists upon the state of the respective disciplines was ruled out because of its duplication of other studies now available.

4. Autobiographical versions of the growth of their scientific interests could be procured from distinguished scholars who have contributed to the development of social science. While the Committee was not oblivious to the advantages of such a venture, it was regarded as immediately impracticable because of the probable length to which such a series, if sufficiently comprehensive, would run.

5. Another proposal having obvious advantages called for reprinting past contributions to methodological exegesis. Many valuable discussions are imbedded in the voluminous works of half-forgotten scholars, or are otherwise

¹ The "case" project to which this paper refers has involved a large number of individuals and organizations. It has not been completed nor have general conclusions resulted. The writer has, therefore, approached his topic genetically. He has attempted to explain the genesis, evolution, and present general form of the inquiry.
—S. A. R.

inaccessible to the present student. This plan, however, would not have served to the best advantage the Committee's desire to portray the "present state of methodology" in the social sciences.

6. A similar proposal which carries the same objection, although having much merit, was to publish an extensive bibliography of works on scientific method.

The final alternative was to obtain a series of case analyses of the methods actually employed by the authors of outstanding contributions to social science. This proposal had the advantage, in comparison with the others just enumerated, that it would keep theoretical considerations closely related to the particular. That is, it would not permit the questionable procedure of discussing methodology *in vacuo*, apart from the subject matter to which it has been applied. For methods, in complete abstraction from scientific problems, are equivalent to the grin which Alice perceived after the disappearance of the Cheshire Cat. Moreover, by a selection for analysis of the more significant contributions, it was felt that the enterprise would illuminate the social sciences of today at their best with respect to methods, and would indicate the lines of development which might be followed with most profit in the future.

The decision to prepare a "case book" of methods was adopted by the Committee at the so-called Hanover Conference in August, 1926. The project was approved by the Social Science Research Council and funds were made available. A preliminary study of the problem by Professors Robert M. MacIver of Columbia University, Hubert R. Kemp of the University of Toronto, and the present writer during the summer of 1927, was made the basis of a second week's discussion by the Committee and a number of invited guests at the Hanover Conference in August of the latter year. The development of the project in accordance with the plans approved, was left, following the Conference, to the present writer and Professor Harold D. Lasswell of the University of Chicago, who was associated with the project as coinvestigator during the first six months of 1928.

The evolution of the enterprise in response to the investigators' efforts to carry out in detail the general plan of inquiry that had been laid down, is itself an interesting illustration of the development of a scientific investigation. The extent of the difficulty of selecting a few "outstanding" contributions from the enormous number of books, monographs, and periodicals in the social sciences had not been foreseen. No single individual could possibly be aware, except in the most hazy manner, of even the major trends of development in all specialized divisions of the general field. Even if, by some miraculous intervention, the forty or fifty most significant inquiries in social science were to be placed before him without further ado, he could not grasp adequately the methodological significance of the greater number not closely related to his own previous fields of specialized interest.

Recognition of this difficulty led to an extension of the enterprise, both with respect to the machinery organized to carry on the task, and with respect

to the concept of the task itself. The latter was wholly bound up in the meaning which might be attached to the term "method."

It was ultimately discovered not only that no precise and uniform meaning is given to "method" in ordinary usage among social scientists, but that no such meaning could be given it for the purpose of the present investigation. There were those who held that "method" should refer to techniques of investigation. To these persons the Committee's study was viewed as a means of exhibiting the most ingenious devices by means of which investigators are able to arrange the various factors in their problems and derive their results. The book should contain illustrations from which the reader would receive a "methodological kick." At the other extreme were those who regarded "method" as indistinguishable from the concepts and assumptions bound up in the formulation of a problem. A "case book" prepared from this broader point of view would exhibit the more elaborate conceptualizations which are associated with some of the great names of social science. Between these extremes of interpretation were numerous other versions of "method" which cannot even be mentioned in the present brief summary.

To make a very long story of genetic development in the project as short as possible, the investigators determined to regard method realistically as a term of variable usage, and to comprise within their study illustrations drawn from various modal points along the hypothetical scale of meaning. They were inevitably driven, however, to formulate the project in terms primarily of the broader, more conceptual version which could be made to include the other more limited meanings.

To provide an extension of machinery corresponding to the clarified and enlarged concept of the Committee's subject of inquiry, two steps were taken: (1) Each of the seven societies holding membership in the Social Science Research Council was requested to appoint a special advisory committee having the function of selecting the more important inquiries within its field. These requests, in each case, were granted. (2) It was determined to seek as the analyst of each study finally chosen, the most informed and competent scholar who could be procured. The advisory committees in most cases granted their assistance to the investigators in helping to select this personnel.

The investigators were now freed from the responsibility of preparing the larger number of analyses themselves. This had been the original expectation. On the other hand, they found themselves fully occupied with the task of procuring, in consultation with their advisers, an orderly series of contributions and analysts. Even within the more limited domains represented by traditional divisions of social science, it was found in most cases that orderly procedure necessitated some prior conceptual formulation of the problems of the field before a selection of important methodological contributions could be made. This seeming departure from the pure inductive process visualized at the outset can still be reconciled with the latter if it be viewed as the process of defining the universe of discourse. Or, to put the matter in another way,

the units to be sampled must be defined before they can be selected. On the other hand, the necessity of arriving at such a conceptualization recurring in each field, supported in still another fashion the necessity, already impressed upon the investigators, of identifying the concepts and assumption of social science with its methodology.

The time set aside for the project by the Social Science Research Council automatically expires on December 31, 1928. The difficulty of completing the enlarged and expanded task of the Committee within this period has been insuperable. That is, completed analyses by competent authorities could not be obtained within the time available for many of the most important contributions that had been selected. Moreover, among the fifty odd case analyses that have been assembled, much revising, editing, and collating remains to be done. The responsibilities of the Committee, the present writer, and of all who have assisted and collaborated in the task, terminate at the end of the current calendar year. With the report now being transmitted to the Council, however, the Committee is recommending that its editorial responsibilities be assumed by the latter, to the end that the collection of case analyses be published in the near future.

No attempt at generalization from the findings and conclusions of the individual analysts has been attempted by the Committee or its investigators, nor has this task been visualized as a part of the present assignment. It is hoped that this first endeavor to study the methods of social science inductively, in their concrete employment in specific studies, may ultimately lead, not only to additional analyses of similar character, but also to that generalizing process to which all detailed inquiry should ultimately lead if it is to have the maximum value for science.²

² On April 6, 1929, the Social Science Research Council approved publication of the "case-book" and asked the present writer to assume the further editorial responsibility.—S. A. R.

A STUDY IN THE PROCESS OF ASSIMILATION

H. G. DUNCAN, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

This study had its inception some five years ago while the writer was attempting to conduct courses in immigration and Americanization on the Pacific Coast. He discovered that in his classes he had representatives of several racial and national groups, and that the text and much of the source material were quite inadequate according to the experiences of these members. Consequently he suggested to one of his colleagues, Dr. W. C. Smith, who had been connected with the Survey of Race Relations on the Pacific Coast, that they prepare questionnaires for the first, second, and third generations of Americans. We now have around a thousand of these life history documents. Our aims are to gain as clear an insight as possible into the process of assimilation of immigrants in the United States, and to use our findings as the basis for a text.

Since we are interested chiefly in the development of the immigrant, his children, and grandchildren as they become more and more a part of American life, we are using the case-study method, supplemented, when possible, by interviews. Instead of centering on a race, nation, or group, we are taking cross-sections from as many races, nations, and groups, and classes of each of these as possible; and are considering these through three generations.

Perhaps most of us are aware of some of the difficulties and limitations of such a study. Suffice it to mention three: (1) The life-history method is introspective and necessitates the weaving together of half-forgotten happenings and highly emotionalized experiences. Even when it is supplemented by the interview, there are few opportunities for observing inward desires as they manifest themselves in overt behavior. (2) While we are endeavoring to cover all classes and believe our material fairly representative, we find it difficult to secure information from the ignorant and illiterate. (3) We have experienced considerable difficulty in distinguishing between the first, second, and third generations of Americans. Tentatively, we are making the following classification: (a) The first generation includes those who come to America after their tenth birthday; (b) the second generation, those who come here before their tenth birthday and those born in America of immigrant parents; (c) the third generation consists of grandchildren of immigrants. Some of the second and many of the third generations are of mixed parentage. These we attempt to classify according to the importance of the immigrant influences. Despite these and other difficulties, and the fact that the study is far from complete, we feel that it has

progressed far enough to posit a tentative hypothesis of the process of assimilation.

Our hypothesis is that assimilation is not something one may jump into as a lake, or something that overcomes one as gas, but rather a process, for the most part conscious, by which individuals and groups come to have sentiments and attitudes similar to those held by other persons or groups in regard to a particular value at a given time. That is to say, the process is relative and the immigrant becomes assimilated only on certain points and just as surely, for the time being at least, remains isolated on other points. These points of assimilation and isolation are largely determined by the racial characteristics and the strength of the social heritage which the immigrant brings with him or which his group retains here; the characteristics inherent in his own personality; and the attitude of his American neighbors toward him individually and the group of which he is a local representative.

The immigrant may bring with him such strong heritages and such definite behavior patterns that he finds it quite difficult to assimilate on any point. Just as no two people are ever physiologically or psychologically identical, so are no two immigrants ever identical in their respective processes of assimilation. For one it is quite easy; for another quite difficult. If the immigrant comes to America with some definite purpose such as to secure an education or to enter some profession, he readily seeks entrance into American groups. Even if he comes, as most immigrants seem to, with the purpose of improving his economic position, he first enters an occupational group and later seeks those of a more social nature. If he locates in a rural community or some section of the city separated from members of his own group, he finds isolation highly undesirable. Thus impelled, he strives to gain entrance into American groups in order to satisfy his desires, but finds that he is rarely able to satisfy all or many of these in any single group. If there are only a few groups open to him, as in case of the Oriental because of his color, the Pole because of his language, or the Irishman because of his religion, he seeks those he believes best suited to fulfil his needs and tries to satisfy as many of his desires as possible within those. When a group gives no further evidence of satisfying a desire, he isolates himself from that particular group or on that particular point. On the other hand, he may keenly desire to assimilate into a group and to conduct himself so as to conform to the mythical American standard, but to his neighbors and employer he remains a "Dago," a mere automaton, with whom no social relationship exists. However, since a group is in an almost continuous process of change due to a changing personnel or a shift in membership, and a person is almost always in a process of change due to a shift in desires and their concomitant values and attitudes, assimilation is in a continuous process of change also, and the immigrant is never more than relatively assimilated.

In the assimilation of individuals and groups within the larger whole, there are certain obstacles to be overcome or circumvented: (1) biological differences such as color of the skin, form and color of the hair, shape of the

eyes, and stature; (2) cultural differences embodied in such things as traditions, conventions, and customs; and (3) psychical differences, which are largely based on the other two, and which maintain or promote isolation and thus prevent harmonious psychic interaction. From the biological viewpoint complete assimilation entails the loss of racial peculiarities through amalgamation; culturally, the banishing of native folkways and mores, and the acceptance of those of America; psychically, it implies the establishment of reciprocal relationships between immigrants and their American neighbors. Cultural patterns, outwardly at least, may be more or less quickly changed, even for the first generation, and thus lead to partial harmonic interactions. In the second generation there is generally a more definite forsaking of these ancestral traits, and in the third generation their loss is so complete that the person moves with such complete ease in American society that he causes no comment. He is now lost to the ancestral group and so absorbed in the American group that he may be considered as fully assimilated as any American. Biological differences of certain people, however, persist for generations and remain as barriers to complete assimilation. For example, the American born Oriental is culturally an American but biologically an Asiatic. He is, so to speak, a sociological hybrid, and no amount of beauty parlor methods will prepare him for full acceptance in our Caucasian society.

In our study we recognize three chief stages in assimilation: (1) The first generation marks the first stage. The immigrant becomes dissatisfied with conditions in his home country and begins to ponder over coming to America. After his arrival a conflict of heritages ensues. This is often followed by disorganization, demoralization, a redefining of the situation, reorganization, and a conscious effort toward assimilation. Old loyalties, however, are strong and make it practically impossible for the immigrant completely to surrender them. This is well expressed in the life-history of a member of the Russian royal family who escaped from his native land with little more than his life. "Today I took out my first papers; Russia, will you forgive me? . . . I want to ask you Doctor, as an American, does the United States, being a civilized country, feel . . . that it has a moral obligation toward the naturalized citizen: to guarantee that there will never take place . . . a cause which would result in a painful conflict between the love for the mother country and the respect for the newly adopted country, which conflict for an honest and self-respecting man would have only one solution—the Death?"

The second generation, while often revealing a breach between parents and children, shows a lessening of the cultural conflict. The words of a second generation Italian business man—"I have no more interest in Italy than in Germany, Russia, or any other foreign country"—express the sentiment of about three-fourths of this group. Those who profess an interest, unless driven back into their racial group by the non-acceptance of the Americans, do little more than indicate a sentimental curiosity little different from their interest in any other foreign country. The third generation shows the extent to which the

grandchild of the immigrant has become or is becoming culturally absorbed. It is seldom that one manifests any special interest in the native land of his grandparents. Thus, with each succeeding generation the effort toward adjustment becomes less pronounced until in the third, and often in the second generation, unless there are outstanding biological differences, the person is often mystified and emotionally disturbed when considered as a case to study in the process of assimilation. They feel as one puts it: "being a third generation American is the same as having had ancestors who came over on the Mayflower."

A STUDY IN UNDERGRADUATE ADJUSTMENT BASED ON 216 UNSELECTED STUDENTS

ROBERT C. ANGELL, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The study upon which I am reporting was undertaken in an attempt to add to our store of knowledge regarding undergraduate life. Sponsored by the sociology department, the investigation enlisted the interest and advice of many outside that department and received pecuniary support from University of Michigan research funds.

The present paper will deal with the method rather than the findings of this inquiry, because, first, the methods were perhaps more unique and certainly more interesting to a group of this sort than the results; and because, second, no adequate summary of the results could possibly be given in the time allotted.

The general planning of the project was placed in the hands of an advisory board made up of fourteen interested and well-qualified individuals. It was determined to conduct the investigation by securing thorough insight into the adjustment situations of an adequate sample of undergraduates, using for this purpose tests, a personal history record, and an interview with a psychiatric case worker. The sample secured consisted of 216 members of introductory psychology courses who were allowed to sign up as subjects for this study as part of their experimental work, though without any inkling in advance as to what the nature of the work would be. The sample, though probably representative of the subjects' age and class in college, is unfortunately weighted toward the sophomore year. It was felt however that this drawback was more than offset by the fact that each student was in our hands for six hours—a result we could not hope for under any other conditions.

The tests used were the *Thurstone Intelligence Examination IV*, the *George Washington University Social Intelligence Test*, the *Watson Test* of fair-mindedness, and an information test hastily concocted with doubtful success by myself and one of my colleagues. The interviewers were unconnected with the University and well qualified for the work, both in point of training and in point of youth and sympathetic insight into undergraduate problems. They received the test results, the personal history, and the subject's academic record before the interview, and wrote up the findings of the interview on a prepared outline form. The students were known only by numbers throughout the investigation and every precaution was taken to preserve this anonymity.

In handling the data thus secured the aim was to combine as far as possible the case and statistical methods, presumably by developing a system of types

according to which the cases could be classified and by which the data assembled could be treated statistically. After studying the cases themselves and consulting student assistants, a three-way system of classification was worked out, in which each case received three ratings, one for academic adjustment, one for social adjustment, and one for life-adjustment. In the academic sphere three classes were distinguished:

A. Serious students who are doing good academic work.

B. Students not deeply interested in their academic work but who are passing their courses; and serious students who are barely getting along.

C. All those whose academic adjustment is unsatisfactory.

In social adjustment also three classes were distinguished:

S. Students who have friends and are well integrated socially.

T. Students who feel their social situation somewhat unsatisfactory; and those who seem satisfied with an inadequate social adjustment.

U. Students who are not well integrated and who have few or no friends.

In life-adjustment four classes were distinguished:

L. Students who have thought seriously about their life-situation and seem to be well oriented.

M. Students who have thought sufficiently to criticize traditional patterns of thinking and conduct, but who have not yet oriented themselves, though they seem to have character sufficient to bring them through.

N. Students who are adjusted on the basis of habitual or traditional patterns and have not thought for themselves.

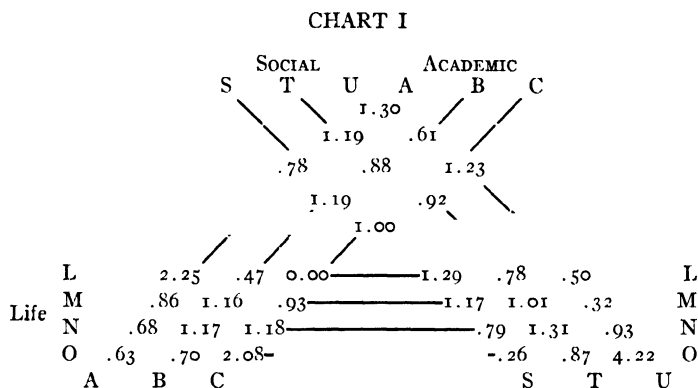
O. Students who are badly adjusted to life, depressed, and confused, seemingly without sufficient character to bring them through satisfactorily.

Once a case's classification had been decided upon, for instance AMT, all the important information concerning that case was tabulated. The following data were set down for each case according to its type: (1) Sex, (2) Age, (3) Class in college, (4) Year on the Michigan campus, (5) Intelligence score, (6) Social intelligence score, (7) Information score, (8) Watson fair-mindedness score, (9) Academic adjustment, including honor point-hour average, (10) Education of parents, (11) Degree of cultural interest, (12) Cultural background, (13) Home adjustment, including size of family and subject's age rank, (14) Religious adjustment, (15) Sex adjustment, (16) Fraternity or sorority situation, (17) Adjustment relative to self-support, (18) Campus activities, (19) Social affairs attended in past month, (20) General social adjustment, (21) General life-adjustment, (22) Personality disorders.

The general method was then that of analyzing statistically wherever possible the data secured. It was found that there were too few cases in many types, for instance BOT, for reliable analysis, so the averages for the adjustment classes were secured, such as all the M class cases, all the S class, and so on. The attributes of each of these adjustment classes and of the whole group, usually by sex, were analyzed. The statistical tables were supplemented by many excerpts from typical cases, and where statistical analysis was quite impossible, the listing of case situations was used to present the whole picture.

To indicate how this method worked out, I will illustrate with examples of the four more unusual types of tables resulting:

1. Percentages of Quota. The correlations among the different adjustment classes is shown herewith in Chart I.



The 1.00 where S and C meet means that there are just as many S cases falling in the C group as would happen by chance, given the percentage of the total number of cases actually found in each group; the same relation would be expressed by the correlation coefficient of 0. In general the results show a strong positive correlation between academic and life-adjustment, little correlation

TABLE I

	ACADEMIC			LIFE				SOCIAL			TOTAL
	A	B	C	L	M	N	O	S	T	U	
Men.....	20.3	22.1	20.8	20.9	21.9	19.4	20.1	22.2	20.3	20.1	21.1
Women.....	23.9	23.4	23.5	26.2	23.1	22.9	23.3	23.4	23.4	26.0	23.6

between academic and social adjustment, and a positive correlation between life and social adjustment.

2. Numerical averages by adjustment classes. Table I is self-explanatory, indicating the combined number of years of education of the parents of the men and women students by adjustment classes.

3. Percentages of certain types in the adjustment classes. Herewith is Table II showing the percentages of fraternity and sorority members and of "independents" in the social adjustment classes.

This table indicates very clearly the better social adjustment of members of fraternities and sororities.

TABLE II

SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT CLASSES	PERCENTAGES		
	Fraternity and Sorority Members	Independents	Total
S.....	69.9	35.0	50.0
T.....	28.0	43.9	37.0
U.....	2.1	21.1	13.0
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0

4. Percentages of each adjustment class of whom certain things are true. Herewith is Table III which indicates the percentages of each social adjustment class having the specified home situations.

TABLE III

HOME RELATIONS	PERCENTAGES		
	S	T	U
Satisfactory.....	78.7	61.25	42.9
Slightly unsatisfactory.....	12.0	21.25	35.7
Very unsatisfactory.....	7.4	12.5	14.3
Unclassified.....	1.9	5.0	7.1
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0

This table indicates a positive correlation between social adjustment at home and social adjustment in college.

The results of the investigation will be embodied in a report of some 40,000 words containing 54 tables. However, much of the information in the case records has not been analyzed and anyone who is especially interested in this field may use the material collected for further research.

AN APPROACH TO THE SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF NEGLECTED CHILDREN¹

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There is general agreement as to the division of all cases of unfortunate children into the four very broad classes of delinquents, dependents, defectives, and those neglected. Overlapping of types is inevitable, and the cataloging, as it were, of cases must proceed on a basis of consideration of configurations of dominant characterizing elements, such means involving frequent abstraction for emphasis. The neglected group presents a peculiar problem in respect to definition, inasmuch as it is more inclusive, probably more elastic, than the others. It is a rare instance, indeed, when a child in a state of social maladjustment typifying dependency, delinquency, or defectiveness—with less emphasis on this latter, defectiveness, than the preceding two—fails to exhibit elements technically characteristic of neglect. In spite of these overlappings, however, there seems to be ample justification for recognizing neglect as a condition separate from any of the others.

Definitions for neglect vary, but the detailed statement made by the Connecticut Commission on Child Welfare embodies what most progressive communities consider in classifying cases. The principal conditions included as those being conducive to or typical of child neglect are: abandonment; home environment characterized by viciousness, disrepute, immorality, depravity, or cruelty; juvenile mendicancy; failure of parents to provide care, where at all possible, for mental or physical defectiveness; engagement of child in any occupation prejudicial to his normal development; and illegitimacy, where support may not be had without the child becoming chargeable with neglect as above defined. While this definition may appear vague and somewhat overly comprehensive, it is probable that attempts at finer discrimination would result in a struggle in rhetoric.

Regardless of the merits of statistical study as applied to interpretation of social phenomena when considered from any viewpoint of generalities, it may be observed here that there are two chief deterrents as regards the application of statistical data to child neglect. In the first place, even with trained social workers, the matter of defining cases is frequently difficult, and not always even possible. Consider, then, the necessity of questioning the validity of case definitions as furnished by juvenile courts, public as well as private social agen-

¹ The project of which the study to be herein considered in some of its phases was a part, was launched by the Department of Sociology of Vanderbilt University in the Fall of 1927.

cies for child welfare and guidance, and other sources. That, in *Publication No. 159*, of the Children's Bureau, dependent and neglected children are grouped together, may be taken as significant of the fact that discrimination between such cases on a large scale is despaired of with facilities at hand at present. The second factor which renders statistical data unreliable as regards child neglect, is their inevitable incompleteness. There can be no disagreement over the statement that many cases of child neglect never come to the attention of such agencies as would make possible their inclusion in statistical compilation. Furthermore, it appears reasonable to assert, with proof not available, that the number of cases of neglect thus omitted is out of proportion to omissions in other classes. We may say, therefore, that investigation readily reveals the feasibility of the case-study approach in getting at the essential facts of neglect cases.

The case-study outline, hereinafter presented, is the one which finally took more or less definite shape out of the project. It is divided into six general sections, the basis for this division being the nature of the several points of contact with the cases being investigated. It was found that this scheme was more practical, as well as more logical, than any method of working out an outline based on the nature of the findings. Its development began with the preparing, largely from a purely logical viewpoint, of a rough sketch. With this as a somewhat unreliable, though quite suggestive, guide, actual case-study was taken up, during which a number of modifications were made in the procedure outline, as circumstances arose which made such alteration justifiable.²

The first section embraces that group of easily obtainable routine data from which the investigator draws his leads for detailed study to follow. These, of course, are to be had from court records and procedure, records of institutions for child-care, and various welfare agencies.

By applying the procedure suggested in the second section the investigator is introduced to the surface atmosphere, as it were, surrounding the case. The results of this phase of the study will be lost if no effort is made to prevent

² It may be said here, that it seems not at all out of order to expect more or less standardized outlines of such nature as this to grow out of the extensive research now being carried on through case study. These outlines will very likely cover all or nearly all, at any rate, of the generally recognized type cases. Some have already been accepted and put to by no means unfruitful use. B. C. Gruenberg's *Outlines of Child Study*, M. F. Krout's *Suggested Approach to the Study of the Boy*, and the joint work of Myrtle S. Mink and H. M. Adler, *Suggested Outline for History Taking in Cases of Behavior Disorders in Children* are probably fairly well known. To those familiar with these works the fact will readily become evident that they have been generously drawn upon in preparing the procedure outline submitted here. As a matter of record, such guides are the outgrowth of and now hold a definite place in the methodology of present-day case study, and only the results of their being applied widely to such studies will measure their final value as the research student's tools.

the formation of unwarranted impressions which will prejudice subsequent analysis of findings.

As a third section comes the interview with the child or children, where such governing conditions as age, mental and physical status, and availability permit.

The fourth section includes what have been found to be decidedly the most fruitful features of the investigation. In this group, as is to be expected, come the suggestions for proceeding with the case study in interviews with parents or guardians. If possible, these interviews should be made both privately and in home-ensemble surroundings. Results classed under this heading are those which are arrived at by inferential supplementing of abstract information which usually springs quite unhesitatingly, and at the same time uncensored, as it were, from the generally prolific source of response to expressions of sympathy, not infrequently feigned to some extent, to be sure, by the investigator.

A fifth section of this outline includes possible means of checking at least portions of the findings coming from application of preceding suggestions.

Under a sixth and final heading have been placed physical examinations and mental tests of children and parents, when such are advisable and possible.

It is not to be expected that all features of the outline will be found applicable in each case of neglect studied. It is intended, however, to be comprehensive enough that, by applying it at all points possible in a case, the greatest possible degree of completeness may be had for the case picture. If its presentation here is of any value whatsoever, it is hoped that it will serve primarily as being suggestive for keener and more discriminating research in the very important matter of case-study technique as concerns that sadly neglected social problem of neglected children.

PROCEDURE OUTLINE FOR CASE STUDY OF THE NEGLECTED CHILD

- I. Data from institutional records and procedure
 - A. Names of parents and children
 - B. Ages of children, places of birth
 - C. Sex of children
 - D. Race
 - E. Address
 - F. Occupation (if any) of parents and children (where capable)
 - G. Person or institution reporting case and complaint
 - H. Statement of problem as brought out in court
 - I. Disposition of case
- II. Investigator's observations of physical surroundings
 - A. Nature of locality (commercial, industrial, residential, etc.)
 - B. Neighborhood facilities for recreation (parent or child)
 - C. Age (where possible) and condition of building

- D. Number of rooms and rent
- E. Amount of sunlight, air, and play space
- F. Heating and lighting systems
- G. Sanitary conveniences and refinements
- H. House furnishings (pictures and books, especially)
 - I. Number of people in same building and sleeping accommodations
 - J. Absence or presence of porch and yard (back and front)

III. Data from interview with child or children

- A. Parent and home relations: (1) General disposition toward parents; (2) Parental control (evidence of neglect, infusion of confidence or discouragement); (3) Relations between parents; (4) Sharing of housework (chores, etc.); (5) Regularity of meals and character of food; (6) Illness in family, including himself or themselves; (7) Wages of parents; (8) Occupations of parents; (9) Regularity of parents' employment; (10) Night work; (11) Diseases of parents; (12) Physical conditions of parents; (13) Disciplinary methods; (14) Rituals and ceremonies in home; (15) Symbols of tradition (pictures, albums, etc.); (16) Mobility of family (general).
- B. Group relations (reflection of parental interest or, in other cases, degree of possibility of correct parental guidance): (1) Associates (gang membership, types of play, etc.); (2) Attendance at school (grades, promotions, attitudes toward teachers, etc.); (3) Church attendance; (4) Care of social agencies; (5) Occupations (if any); (6) Court or police experiences.

IV. Data from interview with parent or parents

- A. Objective: (1) Age and place of birth; (2) Genealogy; (3) Nationality; (4) Education; (5) Economic status: (a) Income and source, (b) Standard of living, (c) Debts, (d) Number of earners; (6) Occupational problems: (a) Un- or irregular employment, (b) Night work, (c) Sex contacts in occupation, (d) Training for vocation, (e) Diseases from occupational conditions, (f) Intensity of labor; (7) Health: (a) Injuries and medical care, (b) Diseases and medical care, (c) Nutrition, (d) Alcohol or narcotics; (8) Family organization: (a) Death, divorce, or separation; (b) Number of marriages and children by each; (9) Familism: (a) Perceptible attitudes of members for one another, (b) Rituals, ceremonies, and symbols of tradition, (c) Group (family) recreation, (d) Attitude toward education of children; (10) Extra-familial group: (a) Roomers, boarders, or relatives and their effects on the family organization; (11) Communal incorporation: (a) Friends in neighborhood, (b) Membership in organizations (lodge, church, etc.); (12) Life organization of members: (a) Education, (b) Habits (alcohol, snuff-dipping, narcotics); (13) Family conflicts: (a) Degree of obedience of children, (b) Age

difference (husband and wife, parents and children), (c) division of labor, (d) Number of children, (e) Cultural differences (husband and wife), (f) Sex problems; (14) Mobility: (a) Removals and locations (reason for), (b) Comparison of different surroundings, (c) Intensity and variety of contacts.

B. Subjective: (1) Attitudes of parents toward each other and children; (2) Social attitudes (anti-social, indifferent, etc.); (3) Family respect; (4) Aspirations and ambitions; (5) Economic resourcefulness; (6) General intelligence (approximate); (7) Personalities (direct, indirect, or psychopathic): (a) "Philosophy of Life."

V. Data from indicative information from outside sources (friends, neighbors, social agencies, employees, etc.)

A. Economic: (1) Observations concerning degree of judiciousness of expenditures; (2) Observations concerning standard of living.

B. Communal incorporation; (1) Social participation; (2) Social attitude of parents

C. Life-organization of members of family: (1) Difficult habits (from actual knowledge and definite assumptions); (2) General intelligence; (3) Personalities.

VI. Physical and mental tests of children, and of parent or parents, when feasible

TROUBLE PATTERNS

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Most studies of persons served by social agencies seem to have proceeded on the assumption that clients' problems appear singly or at least are to be dealt with as separate matters. However, it is quite obvious to many case workers and students of social pathology that the clients' troubles appear in combinations. It is suspected that some of these combinations recur with sufficient frequency to warrant their classification into types. It is further suspected that these problem-situations involve not merely combinations, but clusters or configurations. The task of this study is, therefore, to determine whether there be any typical groupings of human difficulties which center about some distinctive factor. The data are derived from records of families served by the Kansas City Provident Association. The study falls into two parts, the first purely statistical, the second case reading and analysis.

At the Provident Association each record is supposed to include a statistical card which is checked monthly by the visitor. On the card are listed fifty-six items which represent a wide range of human troubles. These we classified as follows:

1. Economic as unemployment and under-employment; inadequate wage scale; indebtedness.
2. Physical Health as sickness (chronic and acute); old age; other physical problems (including blindness, crippled).
3. Mental Health as mental disease; feeble-mindedness; personality disorders.
4. Personal-Social as violation of mores (e.g., sex, theft, alcoholism); poor management (e.g., extravagance); parasitism (e.g., begging, shiftlessness, non-support); personal friction (e.g., within family, with social worker); isolation (e.g., nomadic, illiterate, no local ties).

Since making this classification we have found reason to question it at several points. (Incidentally the agency followed our examination of these data by a thorough-going change of its statistical card.) However, the classification seemed to be as satisfactory as any we could devise for the items on the list.

On this basis we examined the data on 525 cards which represented most of the cases closed during an eight months period. (We deliberately omitted cases handled by the medical-social, children's, and transient departments, all other cases under care less than three months, and certain others which were not available for study.)

In the course of the preliminary statistical study we found indications of six major types, each of which presented numerous variations. These were: (1) Unemployment only, (2) Unemployment with sickness, (3) Unemployment, sickness, personal friction, and usually other difficulties in personality and social relations, (4) Unemployment and personal friction with various other difficulties in personality and social relations, but no health problem, (5) Economic problems other than unemployment with sickness, (6) Sickness with various difficulties in personality and social relations, but no economic problem.

At this point the project was divided. Miss Helen Bernard is now engaged in reading and analyzing 200 case records scattered through the entire series of 525. She is seeking to determine, first, whether the cases we have grouped as belonging to one type really have important characteristics in common; second, whether they are clearly marked off from the cases assigned to other categories; and third, what names will best characterize the types which eventually emerge; not forgetting the possibility that a review may show no clear-cut types at all.

My own study is now centered on 105 cases, one-fifth of the entire series, on whose statistical cards was checked the item "lack of desire to co-operate." This, of course, represents one kind of personal friction, and includes some cases from each of the hypothetical types 3, 4, and 5. My task is to read, analyze, and classify these cases to determine whether I can identify definite types, whether they correspond to those indicated by the statistical study, and whether the clients' difficulties center about particular factors in the problem-situations.

The methods used include reading a record, analyzing it according to an outline described below, having the same record analyzed either by the original visitor, or another case worker, or both, and discussing the case in a group consisting of these and other social workers. In the outline are included (1) a general description of the situation; (2) significant events arranged in sequence, first as concrete occurrences and then as types of events; (3) habits and attitudes indicated, first as recurrent modes of overt behavior relating to other persons, then as inferred tendencies.

In studying the first half of the cases, we believe that we have identified two general types of problem-situation. In the first the client has a fairly definite scheme of life, involving an unconventional way of making his living, which is interrupted by some economic crisis, followed frequently by humiliation. The social worker to whom he comes for assistance advises a program of action which is in conflict with the client's scheme of life, which may bring security, but does not provide for status.

An example of this type is the case of a negro family, man, wife, and six children, living in three basement rooms in an urban area of deterioration, destitute in mid-winter. The man without schooling had learned to read and write. He had made his living peddling toilet articles and home-made patent medicines and fiddling in the rural South, apparently succeeding in "getting by" by

an impressive "line of talk" and very little work. He started West, but the trip was interrupted at Kansas City, where without funds he went to work as an unskilled laborer. Disliking this in the extreme, he sought escape by claiming an industrial accident, suing his employer for \$100,000, and asking the Provident Association for relief. A medical examination showed no indications of any injury. The visitor advised returning to work or to the rural South. The man flatly refused to do either, but succeeded in working out a program of his own in the city.

In the second type of cases we find personal disorganization, evidenced by erratic behavior not organized around any scheme of life. The client alternates between conflicting plans and between depression and excitement. He seems unable to make up his mind and go ahead with any coherent program of action. Sometimes this personal disorganization is associated with an acute economic crisis, sometimes with a chronic disease, sometimes with marital conflict, sometimes with a futile struggle for status. Often it follows a series of unmet crises. In some cases the effort to escape disagreeable situations is physical (as in transiency), sometimes it is mental (as in refusal to face facts which are obvious to others). These clients may be variously described as bewildered, confused, "upset," though none of them has been diagnosed as suffering from a mental disease.

A few brief examples must suffice to illustrate some of the sub-varieties of this type. Mr. A an ignorant, unskilled man, had long depended upon political perquisites for his living. When he was fifty-five another party came into power, and he was unable to find employment. There had been a long series of conflicts with relatives and between Mr. A and his wife. They both were found to be suffering from chronic ailments (kidney, heart, and venereal diseases). As a consequence they became nervous, excitable, erratic, and obstinate. Thus we have personal disorganization involving personal friction, chronic disease, and economic crisis.

In another case we have a transient couple who lost all contact with their relatives (isolation); the woman was believed to be a drug addict and the two were not married (violation of mores); there was jealousy between the two (marital conflict); the man was diagnosed as tuberculous (chronic disease); he alternated between refusal and acceptance of sanitarium care, not knowing what he wanted, and when the woman joined the visitor in urging hospitalization he "blew up" (personal disorganization).

Thus we think we have identified two general types of problem-situation, (1) pattern-of-life tension (client vs. visitor), and (2) personal disorganization (of the client).

INVENTION IN THE HISTORY OF THE SHIP

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In making a study of the sociology of invention, as a dissertation in Columbia, I desired a considerable mass of historical material for induction. I chose one clearly delimited category of inventions, and studied "all" the ascertainable cases falling within it—a sort of case-study method. The category chosen was all the important inventions made in the "ship," in the direct line of descent between floating log and rotorship. We may hope that this category is usually representative of invention in general.

The principal conclusions, or proposed laws having few exceptions, that I deduced from these and other inventions, will be presented. Principle Number One is that what is called an invention is a perpetual accretion of little details, having neither beginning, completion, nor definable limits, though it is hazily and somewhat arbitrarily defined by a word or phrase in the English language. It is an evolution, rather than a series of creations, and much resembles a biologic process. We have written that this evolutionism has a biologic analogy and primal cause. A ship or any other invention is a biologic product, just as much as a bird's nest or a beaver dam. For each is the product of an animal, who contrives and builds because of native needs and instincts, or inborn drives. This must be acknowledged, whether one follow James or Watson on instincts; only metaphysical postulates could explain man's inventing from any other basic, active cause than instincts. If there be inhabitants of Mars, creatures with minds wholly unrelated to our own, perhaps they think new thoughts as readily as old, contrive great inventions overnight, and all adopt at once every improvement. But the mind of that terrestrial animal *homo sapiens* (fond misnomer), simply does not work that way, any more than the minds of his cousins, the beavers, birds, and spiders. Hence the ship, the house, the bird's nest that rest wholly on these biologic minds and bodies evolve slowly, rather biologically.

The history of the ship reveals usually the accretion of only minute improvements, and often not that, but only gradual change of dimensions. The famous clipper ships, for example, so much superior to their packet predecessors, possessed hardly a rope that was novel—they were simply the product of greater size, finer form, and better handling. In the ten thousand year sweep of our history, I can find but a dozen marine inventions of any importance, that might have been not evolutionary, but decidedly inventive strokes, winning through one man what was not an obvious nor clearly inevitable develop-

ment, so that the invention might conceivably have been missed or long delayed, or required the genius of some individual. These few possible such inventions were clinker building, brailing up the windward clew of the mainsail when coming about, the marine odometer and its offspring, the ox-driven paddle-wheel, reef-points, the lateen sail, stern rudder, jib, stuns'l, water-tight bulkheads, and the chronometer. Doubtless more historical knowledge would reduce the number of these possible exceptions. Only a possible two or three of them date from the last three centuries, the period of clearer history.

Our second principle naturally follows, that no individual's genius has been necessary to any invention that has had any importance. To the historian and any social scientist, the progress of invention must appear as quite impersonal. Yet do not conclude that I am a depreciator of brains. I am a pro-aristocrat and a eugenicist. Nautical history shines with many a noble name, of great men and great inventors; but we search it in vain for any indication that genius was ever necessary for any useful invention. Often genius only served to put a man too far ahead of his time. The history of the screw propeller boasts nine glorious names, chiefly mathematicians and physicists—Archimedes, Leonardo da Vinci, Robert Hooke, Bouguer, Daniel Bernouilli, Fulton, John Stevens, Ericsson, and I. K. Brunel. None of them save the engineers, Ericsson and Brunel accomplished anything of practical proximate value for the screw steamer. The others, so far as concerns this invention, suggest a grand inscription on a bust of Isaac Newton:

"The marble index of a mind forever

Voyaging through strange seas of thought alone."

That is, they were following the logic of physics, decades or centuries beyond the practical possibilities and needs of their day. They were also largely duplicating the work of other men, and were, therefore, valueless for being redundant, by a first law of economics. The propeller seems to have arisen gradually, from three independent sources, at the hands of a great many improvers.

Drs. Ogburn and Thomas have well impugned the importance of the individual, supposedly irreplaceable inventor, by their list of duplicate inventions. While I think they are right, there is little trace of duplicate invention in the history of the ship, aside from that case of the propeller. Perhaps the reason is that on the other marine inventions (save the steamboat), there are not such intimate records at hand of the ignored ideas of unsuccessful inventors. The ship inventions ordinarily recorded were public devices that must have become widely known, and hence have prevented any later comer from taking the rôle of inventor, or being credited with it. But the primeval history of the steamboat is rather similar to that of the screw, in the days when about 30 steamboats were built before Fulton's "Clermont," beside numerous projects framed, beginning in 1661.

Related to the lack of dependence of invention upon individual genius is a point mentioned under our fourth heading—the absence of inventions by

chance. In all my gathering of marine material, I found but one reported case of invention through a lucky accident; and that chance was unimportant, as it only improved a propeller in the direction of much better screws that had preceded it. Other students have compiled lists of inventions made or started by chance. From the scarcity of accidents in our own history, one would infer either that they are very scarce anywhere, or that the ship has seen less of them, because hardly anyone occupied about ships or shipyards has been keen to make radical improvements therein. To be productive an accident must not only occur, but occur to one, suggest a good invention to a mind so replete with the idea of invention, and likely so engrossed on improvement in that very direction, that the accident will stimulate a lucky combination of ideas.

We must pass now to our third principle, that in spite of the impersonality of progress, all invention is brought about through some sort of inventors, so that its directions, frequency, and efficiency are determined wholly through these men, in proportion to their absolute numbers, intelligence, moral traits, strength of motives for inventing, time free for it, and training and mechanical equipment for it. So the encouragement of inventors, and also genius and eugenics are needed. The inventive genius is precious because he makes hundreds of little inventions, while John Dub makes one or two, or usually none, as my friend Carr's figures show.

Of course another great set of factors conditioning invention (through the inventors), equally controlling though less variable, is the environment consisting of natural supplies, accumulated capital goods, available laborers, and especially the "prior art," the extant science and technical development. The inventors furthermore are led, not by chance we have said, but by perceptions of the possibility and need of making some change. These perceptions depend directly on their own thoughts and indirectly on the ideas of even very wide classes. The inventors are checked by a variable brake of conservatism in the "patrons" of invention (whether enterprisers or consumers). The more restricted, select, specialized, and intelligent is this class, the less will be its conservatism. This accounts for some of the faster progress of the ship in modern times—better informed buyers for ships.

As our fifth and sixth principles, I have stated that the rate of inventive progress on a device depends partly upon the absolute rate at which that device is being turned out commercially. Hence invention in each line centers in the few countries which most abundantly produce that line. In the 1600's, it was Holland that led in nautical invention, in the next century France, in the 1800's England, with American leadership in clippers and river steamboats. About 1900 practically all marine inventions were being made by Britain, Germany, and the United States, the rest of the world doing little more than adapt their discoveries to local needs. But today the republic of science seems a little wider, admitting say Denmark and Italy to the modern cosmopolis of nautical enlightenment. But Germany is high admiral.

Our seventh principle claims that the inventions which revolutionize a de-

vice or industry are made by men not professionally devoted to it, though in the case of ships they have been always men who had on their sea legs. The far greater mass of perfecting inventions are made by insiders; hence Professor Hart's finding that about four-fifths of the leading inventors have been insiders.

The remaining principles we must read by title only. (8) No invention ever revolutionizes civilization, nor brings, simply through having been invented, any important changes in the life of the mass of men. (9) The perfecting of a device mechanically is evidenced by its attainment of beauty. And (10) The craft of invention reveals the following trends: from the empiric toward the theoretical; from the unconscious through the amateur to the professional inventor; from the evolutionary toward the discrete or broken, epochal; but from the accidental toward the deliberate and the sure; from the individual source toward the organized inventive group; from the toolless stroke to the use of ever more equipment, capital, and time; and a consequence of all these trends is a prodigious increase in the efficiency and rate of inventing. Inventions have also their own trends, as well as understandable causation, so that they can be predicted even centuries ahead.

A STUDY OF 137 TYPICAL INVENTORS

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One hundred and thirty-seven American inventors, responding to a questionnaire sent out in 1927 to a random sample chosen from the Patent Office *Gazettes* of September 7, 1926, and July 5, 1927, held an average of 18.2 patents which they had acquired in an average patenting period of 16.2 years. In this respect my title is a misnomer, for undoubtedly these 137 were somewhat more productive than the average run of American inventors. Yet over 18 per cent held only one patent. At the other extreme, 12.3 per cent held fifty-one or more. As to age, they approximated a normal distribution, ranging from twenty-five to more than seventy and averaging 47.3, which is 3.2 years more than the average of the whole population twenty-five and over in 1920.

Factors determining the number of patents that inventors take out must be sought among the conditions controlling: (1) the length of their patenting period, and (2) the intensity of their patenting activity during that period.

LENGTH OF PATENTING PERIOD

These inventors obtained their first patents shortly after their thirty-first birthdays, but their first patents seldom covered their first inventions. Age at first invention averaged twenty-five and four-tenths years, but there was a wide variation here, 18.7 per cent having begun before the age of fifteen, while 11.2 per cent waited till they were past forty. There was an average interval of six years between first invention and first patent, and the ages in the two cases correlated $.536 \pm .047$.

Inventors begin to invent for very complex reasons. The more specific an individual is in describing the actual circumstances under which he began the more apparent is the complexity of motive. Yet on the basis of the element stressed by the individual, we can say that 40.5 per cent began because of the experience of a difficulty; 30.6 per cent began as a result of personal experiences in childhood or family influences; 16.5 per cent began for the sake of making money; 6.6 per cent began as a result of reading about or associating with other inventors; and 5.8 per cent began as a result of education, research, or experiment. The unimportance of the desire to make money agrees with Hart's findings. It is, perhaps, significant also that of those who began for the sake of money 62 per cent recalled no early experience that had turned them toward invention while, of the others who did not begin for money, only 24 per cent failed to recall such experiences. Coefficient of colligation, pecuniary motives and no early experiences, $.393 \pm .081$. Pecuniary inventors spend less

time between first invention and first patent than do others—a year and four months as against nine years for those who began because of childhood interest. An early patent is, as a matter of fact, a slightly better index of a preceding childhood interest than childhood interest is of the likelihood of an early patent.

Age at first invention bears no relation to the kind of thing invented except in the case of toys. The eight (out of 95) who began with toys began at the age of 13, i.e., at about half the average age. Coefficient of colligation, toys and childhood interest, $\$.431 \pm .101$. Most inventors begin with some practical device of a non-technical kind. More than 22 per cent of our inventors began with a household device or with some electrical invention; 5.6 per cent began with some article of wearing apparel; 2.8 per cent with a chemical formula; and 1.8 per cent with some form of prime mover.

An inventor's present occupation bears no relation to the type of interest that attracted him to invention. But those who make a living by inventing are found to have begun earlier than those who regard it as a side issue. Industry and the professions seem especially important in connection with the production of inventors. There are more than two and a third times as many inventors in manufacturing occupations in this sample proportionately as there were members of the general population in those occupations in 1920. And compared with the percentage of the general population in the professions in 1880, homes of professional men contributed more than four and a half times their quota to this sample of inventors. Both differences are statistically significant. Studies in other fields have already shown the importance of professional homes in supplying culture leaders.

INTENSITY OF PATENTING ACTIVITY

The best inventors not only began patenting fifteen years ahead of the poorest and kept at it seven times as long, but they have produced patents more than ten times as fast. For twenty-nine years the twelve leaders averaged one patent every twenty weeks; in a patenting period of four and a half years the twenty-two tail-enders could produce only one patent each. Total patents and the rate of production correlate $\$.916 \pm .009$. The more productive inventors are the more productive not merely because they have been at it longer, but because they have been at it harder.

But intensity declines with age. The nine youngest inventors have averaged from three to ten times as many patents "per year of patenting activity" as have the thirteen oldest. Correlation, age with average patents per year of patenting activity, $-.592 \pm .040$. On the average, despite practice and experience, intensity of patenting activity gradually dies away as age increases.

One other interesting fact about the fertility rate is all I have room to mention. Holding the different inventor-types constant, the size of the inventor's family correlates $\$.878 \pm .014$ with the intensity or fertility rate. This suggests either that large families stimulate inventiveness or that both large families and inventiveness are expressions of the same conditioning factors.

HOW INVENTORS INVENT

I have time for only a word about the way in which inventors invent. Business problems and the difficulties connected with an inventor's job in industry loom large in attracting attention to the problems attacked by these men in their latest inventions. The circumstances under which they solved their problems varied from an instantaneous flash of inspiration to a painstaking trial and error elimination of one possibility after another. In difficult problems the most general type of behavior seems to involve a careful breaking up of the situation into its elements, a focussing of attention on the crux of the difficulty, and then a conscious and "unconscious" search for the relationships between the different elements that will result in removing the difficulty.

On the average these inventors spent one year, eight months, and three days on their latest inventions. The time required to reduce the solvent idea to practice varies according to the (a) nature of the problem, (b) resources available, and (c) technique of the inventor. It runs from ten minutes to ten years, or more. On the average 61 per cent of the total time spent on an invention is spent getting up to the solvent idea.

INVENTING AS A BUSINESS

During their sixteen years of patenting activity these inventors averaged in income from their inventions \$37.25 a week. They estimated that their latest inventions have cost considerably more than their average receipts per invention—but it may be that prices have gone up. They believe that others have received thirteen times as much from their inventions as the inventors themselves have.

HOW THE INVENTOR REACTS TO THE PATENT SYSTEM

The more business our inventors have had to do with the Patent Office the higher the percentage of dissatisfaction among them. Fifty-nine per cent of the one-patent men were dissatisfied in one way or another while 75 per cent of the 2-70-patent men were dissatisfied and 84 per cent of the men with 71 or more patents.

Of the 79 who voiced some specific suggestions for improvement, 34, or 43 per cent, want increased protection or some legal reforms; 24, or 30 per cent, want administrative reforms in the office at Washington, and 21, or 27 per cent, want more speed and higher rewards for patenting.

Advice to young inventors runs a wide gamut, but there is a marked tendency for plural-patent men to stress economic, technical, and "Don't do it" advice, while the single-patent men emphasize "Safety First," "Go slow," "Get a good lawyer." The more independent and successful the inventor, the more likely he is to give economic and psychological advice as distinguished from technical and safety-first advice.

INFLUENCE OF CULTURAL CHANGE UPON THE AMERICAN NEWSPAPER

MALCOLM M. WILLEY, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

A survey of the literature relating to the newspaper reveals five groups or classes into which most of the material falls.¹ There are first the histories of newspapers in particular and journalism in general; then the generalized and opinionated descriptive articles; there are the descriptive materials displaying analytical insight (such as Lippmann's work); there are the technical handbooks for students of journalism; and there are studies of special types or classes of newspapers (such as studies of the immigrant press, the Jewish press, etc.). Beyond this as yet there is almost nothing, and in all of this there is almost no recognition of the newspaper as an institution which is as definitely a part of our culture as are the family, the school, and the church. The assumption underlying the work that I am doing is that the newspaper must be studied as an institution and with reference to the social environment of which it is a part and that it can only be understood when so studied. Just as it would be impossible to understand the family and the changes in it as an institution without reference to the larger cultural setting in which the family is only one of numerous complexes, so it is impossible to study or understand the newspaper without reference to the changing cultural environment within which it is published.² The problem is how to study the newspaper, starting from this assumption. What are the problems involved and what techniques may be utilized in the attempt to understand the newspaper, or at least to describe it more accurately? Or more important, how can the changes in the newspaper over a period of time be measured?

It must be remembered that the material object to which the name "newspaper" is given is a composite, and is to be studied as such. It is oversight of this, and a tendency to consider the newspaper as a unitary object, that vitiates much of the discussion of the newspaper. It is perhaps helpful to utilize the concept of "pattern," that has been developed elsewhere, in the analysis and study of the newspaper. Just as a culture, as a whole, is a composite of inter-related parts which originally may have had no necessary functional relationship, but is built up from elements often originally quite disparate, so the news-

¹ See Robert E. Park, "Topical Summaries of Current Literature: The American Newspaper," *American Journal of Sociology* (1927), XXXII, 806-13.

² It is this that Professor Park has in mind when he states that what is needed is not a history of the American newspaper, but a "natural history" of the newspaper. See R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, *The City*, pp. 80-98.

paper is a composite of parts now interrelated, although fortuitously so. We may properly speak of the "pattern of a newspaper," and study the traits that combine to give us this pattern.

The pattern of a newspaper must be considered from two aspects: (a) there is physical size, both page size and bulk; (b) there is the content of the paper—or practices with reference to the content—and this involves (1) newspaper makeup (typography, headline, and display practices, etc.), (2) the kinds of material included (both advertising and reading matter), and (3) the writing-style used in presenting the reading matter as distinct from advertising.

Papers vary as they differ in one or more of these. One paper is unlike another because it differs in size, in makeup, in types of material included, and in news style. The pattern of any paper is the composite of these. The newspaper and changes in it are to be studied in terms of the relationships between these, and in terms of changes with respect to these. While no two papers are identical, it should be possible to distinguish types under which all papers may be grouped.

Time does not permit discussion of all the points comprising the newspaper pattern. I shall select a few upon which my students and I have been working. Our results are not complete, and what is here presented is intended only to illustrate types of work that may and must be done in studying the newspaper.

THE MATERIAL COMPRISING THE CONTENT OF NEWSPAPERS

Some contrasts in newspapers may be observed by the simple expedient of measuring the proportion of the total reading matter devoted to any particular type or class of material, and comparing this with other classes. Differences, with reference to this one thing, may be established between contemporary papers or for papers over a series of years.³ Several students have utilized this method of study. O. K. Armstrong, as typical, studied St. Louis newspapers and ascertained variations in the balance between classes of news. In specific cases striking changes became apparent: sport news occupied 1.75 per cent of the reading space in 1875; it occupied 25.4 per cent in 1925. One of my own students studying sport news in a Minneapolis paper found a consistent increase from less than .01 per cent in 1868 to about 30 per cent in 1925.

Taking four classes of material: news, editorials, magazine material, and advertising, shifts in balance for specific papers can be seen. In papers with which we have worked, we find that advertising space is now about two-thirds of the total. In the 1860's it was only one-third. Editorial material is progressively a smaller proportion of the total, and magazine and feature material are assuming increasing proportions. Our work here checks Armstrong. On the basis of what we have thus far done, one can state this hypothesis: at least in some cases the function of the newspaper is changing, as judged by the em-

³ A method for quantitative analysis was developed by the writer in the *Country Newspaper*, University of North Carolina Press, 1926.

phasis on certain classes of news, and the informational phase of the newspaper pattern is being supplanted by amusement material; in terms of pattern, amusement material is assuming an increasingly dominant place. At present most measurements are for extremes in years, with intermediate measurements missing. Also the number of papers studied is small. With more papers analyzed and the analyses covering more years, one phase of the story of the changing newspaper will become more accurate, and the possibility of relating these changes to other aspects of the culture will be greater.

INDICES OF MAKEUP

Two problems may be suggested. (a) What is selected for publication on page 1 of the paper? (b) In what manner is this displayed? Papers differ, apparently, in both of these.

A preliminary ten day survey discloses the following shift in front page makeup, with reference to content, for a Minneapolis paper, as shown in Table I.

TABLE I

1875		1925	
Crime and sensational news	25.8	Personal	21.7
Foreign	14.0	Business	20.2
Personal	13.6	Foreign	20.1
Miscellaneous	13.1	Politics	14.1
Religious	11.2	Crime	13.8
Politics	9.4	Miscellaneous	7.6
Business	6.7	Sports	1.4
Sports	4.9	Photographs	1.0
Legal . . . . .	.9	Religion	0.0

This is a gross measure, and it can be greatly refined by deriving what may be called an "index of emphasis." This is a measure of the emphasis given on page 1 to any type or class of news as compared with the emphasis given that same class in the paper as a whole. This is found by ascertaining the ratio between the percentage of space occupied in the paper as a whole by any class of material, and the percentage of that same class that falls on the front page, and dividing this by the percentage of all the news in the paper that is on the front page of the paper. Thus it can be determined whether any type of material is appearing on page 1 above or below a pure chance distribution, and the selective factor demonstrated. Papers differ greatly as measured by this index of emphasis.

Another index of makeup is represented by the ratio of headline to reading matter on page 1, or for the paper as a whole. Conservatism in newspaper presentation is, study shows, related to a low ratio between these two; accordingly this particular index gives an approach to qualitative analysis of newspaper content—a field as yet virtually untouched. A study of fourteen morning newspapers shows variation in this index ranging from 1.57 (where head-

lines occupied more space than reading matter) to .27. This suggests wide variation in makeup policy. Time series have not yet been constructed.

A somewhat similar index is obtained by finding the ratio between "sensational" news and total news on page 1. Taking a sample period, variation is found ranging from a Massachusetts paper, with 63 per cent of all news on page 1 in the sensational class, to a Canadian and a New York City paper having only .08 per cent of all front-page news in the sensational class.

If nothing else were to develop from this study, these preliminary observations suggest the fallacy of talking about "the newspaper" and the necessity of recognizing that newspapers differ among themselves in many fundamental aspects. They have different patterns.

These are merely suggestions, lines of study now being pursued in an attempt to understand more clearly the American newspaper. Once indices are derived that prove satisfactory measures of newspaper content and style, the first steps will have been taken in the attempt to (a) differentiate between contemporary papers on the basis of content and (b) to measure the changes that have occurred over a period of time.

The question of combining the various indices yet remains. Thus far nothing beyond simple bar diagrams has been attempted; no single index or figure has been found for representing the entire pattern of the paper. However, little or no attention has been given to this.

The title of this paper is perhaps a misnomer; it suggests that already material is available to permit conclusions bearing upon the relation between newspapers and social change. Elsewhere I have suggested in a preliminary way the relation between newspaper style and culture change. The first step, however, is the analysis of the paper; only then can changes in the newspaper pattern be correlated with other social changes. It is for this reason that here I have stressed the necessity of study of the papers.

SECTION ON RURAL SOCIOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

EBEN MUMFORD, MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE

The nature of the program of the section on rural sociology was determined chiefly by the fact that the central topic for the society was "The Rural Community." The programs for the divisions consisted largely of papers on rural topics presented by rural sociologists and in most of the sections there were several papers relating to rural life. In making up the program for the rural section, the Steering Committee took this situation into account, so far as possible, both with reference to subject matter and representation of institutions and agencies engaged in rural work, whether teaching, extension, or research. By correspondence with the president and secretary of the society and with chairmen of the divisions it was possible to give rather wide representation on the program to the different institutions and agencies interested in rural problems. Including the divisions of the general program and the various sections, more than forty papers relating to rural topics were given. In view of the general interest in rural-life problems and the rapid and extensive development of research in the rural field, it seems fitting that this meeting of the society should have been devoted so largely to a consideration of rural-life conditions. The generous recognition of this field in the program is much appreciated by the rural sociologists and is a source of much encouragement to them.

The papers in the rural section related to research, teaching, and extension. Two of the sectional meetings were given to papers on method and results in the principal fields of rural research, such as social organization, population, and standard of living. Papers on research in social organization were presented by E. L. Morgan, Henry J. Burt, and W. Russell Tylor; there was one paper on population projects by C. Luther Fry, and one on standard of living projects by Lowry Nelson. Papers relating primarily to methods of research were given by Pitirim Sorokin, Charles H. Cooley, and H. B. Hawthorn. The papers were discussed by C. C. Zimmerman.

The meeting relating to the teaching of rural sociology included papers by F. R. Yoder, Newell F. Sims, and J. O. Rankin, and discussion by A. W. Hayes and J. L. Hypes.

The meeting on extension work was in the form of a joint dinner with the National Community Center Association. At this dinner, J. F. Steiner presided and papers were given by B. L. Hummel, C. E. Lively, and A. H. Rapping.

Following the custom of the section, a joint luncheon was held with the American Farm Economic Association. The topic for discussion was "Mexican Immigration." T. N. Carver presided and papers were presented by Robert Redfield, Max Handman, and E. S. Bogardus.

The reports of the Committees on Population and on Resolutions adopted at the business meeting of the section are as follows:

REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

1. That a higher degree of permanent organization than the section of rural sociology has yet had be perfected at this time and that a secretary be elected at this meeting in order that the minutes may be thoroughly kept and handed down to the next steering committee.

2. That each year the rural section of the American Society, at its meeting, resolve itself into a clearing-bureau for the bringing together of trained rural sociologists and positions which they might fill. There are many research positions particularly, calling for sociologists, and a good many rural sociologists are being trained, but at the present time there is no central place through which they can clear. It is felt that this group, meeting once a year, might very well perform a function in this line.

3. That in every way possible and with whomever possible, influence may be brought to bear to see that more of the Purnell funds are allocated to rural social research. At the present time there are twenty-three agricultural experiment stations in the United States carrying no rural social research.

4. That the secretary of this section transmit to Dr. C. J. Galpin the regrets of the section concerning his necessary absence and send to him its greetings and best wishes.

Committee:

CARL C. TAYLOR, *Chairman*
EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER
BRUCE L. MELVIN

REPORT OF THE POPULATION COMMITTEE

The Committee reaffirmed the following recommendations made to the Census Bureau last year:

1. That in preparing the 1930 census emphasis be placed on securing and analyzing farm population data, which, in the opinion of this group, are as valuable as any body of information secured by the federal census.

2. That a threefold classification of city, village, and farm population such as that used by Mr. Leon Truesdell in his monograph on farm population be employed generally throughout the population volumes of the 1930 census.

3. That as soon as possible the data from birth and death certificates be tabulated in such a way that the division between rural and urban be drawn at the population limit of 2,500, and not as at present, at 10,000.

In addition to the foregoing, the Committee made the following recommendations:

1. That in the future the summary census volumes include, in addition to the published figures themselves, a description of all materials that the Bureau has tab-

ulated but not printed, together with a statement of the terms under which interested persons can gain access to unpublished census information.

2. That the policy of preparing special monographs dealing with various aspects of the Census returns be developed and extended. In general it is recommended that the same topics be treated that were dealt with in the special series of monographs put out in connection with the 1920 census, but that in addition, such subjects as the Negro, the foreign-born, the Oriental, marital status, occupation, home ownership, the fertility of women, and the incorporated village be added to the list. In these monographs the situation today should, so far as possible, be compared with the situation in earlier decades and farm, village, and city population should be analyzed separately.

3. To promote uniformity in the treatment of the subjects discussed, it is suggested that the monographs be compiled and written by employees of the Census Bureau itself rather than by volunteer contributors.

4. The Committee would look with favor upon the creation within the Census Bureau of a department of research and analysis which would not only undertake the special studies just proposed, but would also help outside agencies to obtain census data in the form best suited to their needs.

Committee :

C. LUTHER FRY, *Chairman*

WARREN S. THOMPSON

R. E. STEWART

The Steering Committee elected for the ensuing year consists of B. F. Coen, chairman, H. J. Burt, secretary, J. O. Rankin, and W. A. Anderson.

CURRENT RURAL RESEARCH

RESEARCH METHODS IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION A CASE-STUDY IN METHOD

HENRY J. BURT, UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

ABSTRACT

This study was undertaken as a Purnell project by the Missouri College of Agriculture¹ in a rural community where the local standard community association wanted to find out to what extent its activities were reaching all the community people. An intensive study of social contacts was carried on to show both the production and the consumption of contacts in the village center and in each of the surrounding school districts separately. The study covered a period of three months. During this period a complete record of attendance at every meeting held in the community was kept. These data were supplemented by a detailed record of family-visiting secured by a questionnaire. The questionnaire also covered the social contacts experienced by each person outside the community. A more detailed presentation of *method* is given.

SELECTION OF THE PROJECT

This article is an outline of the detailed methods employed in making a field study of social contacts in a rural community. The general purpose of this project was to study the nature, frequency, distribution, and cost of social contacts in a rural community as a guide to the conduct of existing activities and to a more rational development in the future. In detail the purpose included the determination of (1) number of contacts of each type; (2) contact-producing power of each area within the community, including the village and twelve school districts; (3) contact consumption of each area; (4) contact-producing power of each organization; (5) money cost of contacts produced by organizations; (6) contacts experienced outside the community; (7) distance traveled for contacts; (8) correlation of contacts with age, location, and other factors.

SELECTION OF THE AREA AND PERIOD OF STUDY

The original intention was to study two comparable trade-area rural communities where previous studies had been made. By using two communities it was hoped to check results and make comparisons. An intensive study involving daily record-keeping by local people for a period of six months was proposed.

As the study developed it was found that this program was too extensive to be carried out. This process of modification was suggested by the results of

¹ In co-operation with the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, U.S.D.A.

interviews with several university students who live in one or the other of these two communities. These students were sounded out as to methods of approach and the probable reception of the study by the local people. Interviews with the Missouri State Community Organization specialist, the local county agent, and the local county superintendent of schools to enlist their co-operation and to check on the tentative selection of areas gave further indication that the modification of the original plan was needed. Specifically, it seemed to be evident (1) that one of the two communities was less accessible and less likely to co-operate in the study than the other; (2) that the work in a single community would tax our resources to their limit, and (3) that community co-operation in keeping daily records of contacts for a period of six months was expecting too much. In consequence of these considerations it was decided to limit the study to one trade-area rural community with daily record-keeping for a period of three months.

SELECTION OF THE SAMPLE

The first intention was to include everyone in the trade area six years of age and over. It was considered that those below school age would have few contacts outside the home and that outside contacts would be of less relative importance to them than home influences. Moreover, school life takes the child out into community activities. Thus, it was considered that the beginning of school corresponded rather closely to the beginning of significant community-wide contacts.

A special census taken at the beginning of the study showed that 1,297 persons of all ages resided in the community area. Those below the age of six numbered 154. When these were eliminated from the study it left 88 per cent of the total census figure to be used as the sample. Although the techniques to be outlined included only the compilation of the data, it should be stated here that in the later process of tabulation a number of persons have been eliminated from the study, because of such reasons as removal, failure to answer questionnaire, living in two places within the community during the course of the study, and others. When allowance had been made for all of these cases, it was found that 53 per cent of the number included in the total census figure could be used in the tabulations.

DEFINITION OF THE ELEMENT TO BE STUDIED—THE SOCIAL CONTACT

Hawthorn defines the social contact as "the exposure or contact of a person for approximately one hour to an event or situation which has definite socializing value." This definition serves very well as a theoretical concept. It is not concrete enough for practical research purposes because of (1) the impossibility of securing general agreement as to what events have "definite socializing value," and (2) the impossibility of determining the amount of socializing value received by a given person in a given contact. As a corollary

to these limitations it appears to be necessary that we consider all events as equal in socializing value until the value of each has been determined.

As defined for the purpose of this study, a social contact is the exposure of one person to group influences for one hour. Obviously no effort was made to evaluate the quality of contacts. The aim was merely to measure quantity of contacts in terms of exposure.

METHODS USED

Three major techniques were used in the prosecution of this study: (1) collaboration with the local standard community association, (2) collaboration with local individuals, and (3) an elaboration of the questionnaire method. Each of these must be considered separately in detail.

Collaboration with the local standard community association.—The idea of a co-operative research project between the community association, the Missouri College of Agriculture, and the United States Department of Agriculture was "sold" to the community association on the basis of its probable value to the association in its efforts to reach all the people of the community.

To carry out this procedure several trips were made to the community to consult with prominent individuals, including the officers of the local standard community association. A favorable co-operative spirit was evident. The president of the association, being especially desirous of having the project carried out, agreed to call a meeting of the Executive Committee that the project might be placed before them. At this meeting about half of the members were favorably disposed. The others did not have much to say. The group agreed, however, to have the proposed study outlined at a regular meeting of the association.

When the proposed study was explained at the regular meeting of the community association the idea was made graphic by a presentation of charts showing results which had been obtained in other communities for other studies. This proved effective in helping the people visualize the type of findings to be expected. The people seemed interested in the presentation, but were rather indifferent when the question of carrying on the social-contacts study in their midst was definitely proposed. The indifference seemed not to be due to the study in general, but to a hesitancy in submitting themselves to the process of record-keeping involving their own attendance at the various types of meetings held in the community. A few spoke in favor of the work. Several others were called upon by the president. Some of these said they saw no harm in the study, and the others refused to express themselves. The president finally decided that the association was in favor of the project. No objection was voiced at this conclusion.

In view of the considerable indifference of the people just indicated, it should be stated that all of the important community leaders were definitely in favor of the work. It was apparent, therefore, that we could proceed with the study knowing we had the co-operation of the community association, as expressed through its leaders.

The reasons for the adoption of this method of community co-operation may be summarized under these three headings: (1) to get rural communities to thinking in terms of research as a basis of community programs; (2) to establish a precedent for the formal co-operation of a rural group with state and national research agencies, and (3) to set up a state of primary group consciousness with regard to the project so the people would accept the task as their own, and so individual co-operation in furnishing information, returning the questionnaires, and so on, could be placed squarely on the basis of community loyalty.

Collaboration with local individuals.—Some twenty-five local persons (including the district school teachers) were employed on an hourly basis to keep records or furnish specified information. These persons were interviewed and their personal co-operation enlisted. The general plan was to have each district school teacher keep a record of every meeting held in her district during the three-month period of the study. The name of the person attending, his map number, and the distance he had traveled to attend was recorded. The place and time of the meeting was also indicated. In addition to this record-keeping of all events in her district, each school teacher furnished a census of homes, the mailing address of each home, and a map showing the home locations. The work in the village was set up in a similar way with the exception that several individuals were employed within the village area because of the diversity of events that took place there. As far as possible the various types of group events were divided among the collaborators in such a way that each event would be recorded by a person who would normally be in attendance.

Close supervision was given to this work of the collaborators. Numerous personal visits were made to each. A weekly "Record of Time Spent" was sent in by each collaborator describing the work he had done, and stating the time spent during the week. Continuous correspondence by mail was kept up by these field-workers. At the end of each month a check for the amount of remuneration due each collector was sent out. Advantage was taken of this occasion to emphasize the need for careful attention to details, and to stimulate morale.

Several reasons may be set down for the use of local individuals as collaborators. These may be listed as: (1) to secure data that could not be gathered by an outsider; (2) to place the compilation of data in the hands of those most intimately connected with each local situation to be studied; (3) to secure the compilation of a large number of data at a relatively low cost; (4) the fact that remuneration was given to collaborators furnished sufficient reason for a rigid insistence upon accuracy and completeness. To be paid for every hour was an inducement to spend sufficient time to do the work properly. It also stimulated loyalty to the project. Thus, by this device we secured a highly desirable identification of the collaborator's interest with the research work.

Elaboration of the questionnaire method.—A questionnaire was sent to all

persons in the community above the age of six to secure supplementary information which could be gathered in no other way. The main object was to get a record of contacts due to the element of visiting during the three-month period studied. A questionnaire was sent out at the close of this period. Various devices were used to secure a large return.

To accompany the questionnaire three letters were prepared. One of these was for the age group six to nine, the second for the age group ten to nineteen, and the third for persons twenty years of age and over. Great care was exercised in the preparation of these letters so that the proper appeals might be made to each group. Permission was secured from thirteen of the most influential persons in the community to sign their names to all of these letters. In consequence, the letters were written as coming directly from these persons in the interest of community improvement. The letters all featured as a central concept the idea of making "our" community a better place in which to live.

In the use of questionnaires much difficulty is often experienced because the exact nature of the information called for is not made clear. Two devices were used to overcome this. In the first place, the questionnaire was prepared so that answers could be given by filling in a figure or a word. In the second place, a sample copy of the questionnaire was included with the blank copy. A typical answer to each item called for was filled in so that the recipient could see exactly how it should be done. A self-addressed franked envelope was enclosed for the return of the questionnaire.

The real task is that of securing a large and representative response from the people. The first step in this process was taken by the preparation of a public notice addressed "To All Members of the Ashland Community." This notice was signed, with their permission, by the president and the secretary of the community association. It announced the coming of the questionnaire on a specific date. It was posted in the farmers' exchange, the post-office, and the local bank. It was read before all religious gatherings on the Sunday preceding the arrival of the questionnaires. It was printed in the local paper. This notice is given here:

On Wednesday, January 4, you will receive an important letter telling about the study of the Ashland Community which we are making with the assistance of the Missouri College of Agriculture. In this letter you will find a list of very short questions which you are asked to answer. It is necessary that every one of us answer these questions in order to make this study of the greatest benefit to the community. As soon as you receive your questions please answer them at once and send them in. Let us all work together to make the Ashland Community a better place in which to live.

Signed

_____, *President, Community Club*
_____, *Secretary*

The postmaster was consulted concerning the time and method of mailing the letters. Because of the large number of them it was agreed to bring them

to the post-office two days before the time set for delivery. It happened that the day on which the letters were promised to the local postmaster was one of the coldest of the winter with the thermometer reading well below zero, and it was decidedly inconvenient to make the trip to the community at that time. The trip, however, was made as agreed, and contrary to the expectation of the postmaster in view of the weather. In spite of the hardship imposed this episode was welcomed as an opportunity to impress upon the community people, and especially upon the postmaster, who had so important a part to play in the questionnaire technique, the idea that research requires everyone involved to live up to the strictest possible code of reliability and faithfulness to agreements. We had announced to the people that they would receive questionnaires at a given time. If the postmaster had failed to deliver them at the time set an unfavorable impression would doubtless have been developed in the minds of the people, and our efforts to impress the need for accuracy and completeness in filling out the questionnaires would have been weakened. In elaboration of this principle, the visit to the local post-office showed that many letters, through faulty addresses, had not been delivered. Corrected mailing addresses were secured at once through the district school teachers. It may be stated parenthetically that in all dealings with the community and the collaborators the most careful thought was at all times given to the psychological effect of every detail in the procedure.

Another device used to bring a response to the questionnaires was a special letter sent to all district school teachers emphasizing the importance of a full return of questionnaires, and listing specific suggestions as to what the teachers could say to their pupils on the day of the expected arrival of the questionnaires and on each of the two succeeding days, in order to encourage both the children and the home folks to answer the questionnaires at once. It should be borne in mind that these teachers were in our employ on an hourly basis. At this point they were advised in particular that all the time they spent assisting the children in filling out questionnaires, talking to the children concerning them, or doing any other work connected with the questionnaire project would be paid for at the regular hourly rate.

Eight days after the questionnaire had been sent out a second community notice, signed as before by the president and the secretary of the community association, was posted in the farmer's exchange, inserted in the local paper, read before all religious gatherings on Sunday, read in the school assemblies, and announced at a meeting of the community association. This notice again emphasized the importance of the study to the community and the necessity that everyone play fair with everyone else by returning his questionnaire in the interest of a better community life.

A visit was made to the community to see how the people were taking the questionnaire. There appeared to be a small number, of perhaps 5 per cent, who were opposed to the whole project. Their opposition was based on (1) the supposed cost of conducting the study; (2) a suspicion that the information

would be used against the farmer by those who deal with him; (3) pretended difficulty in filling out the questionnaires, and (4) disbelief in the value of the study to the community. There appeared to be a much larger number, perhaps 50 per cent, who would send in the questionnaire if sufficient appeal or pressure could be used upon them. In checking the first returns it was found that of the 1,114 questionnaires sent on January 4 a total of 332 had been returned by January 11, and 429 had been received by January 30.

One follow-up letter was used in this questionnaire technique. This was sent out on January 30. A new copy of the blank questionnaire and also a filled-out copy of the questionnaire were included as in the first letter. In this case, however, a separate letter was not written for each age-group, a single letter serving for all who had not at that time responded. The chief feature of this letter was the announcement that on February 9 the names of all those who had up to that time responded to the questionnaires would be published in the local paper. It was hoped that social reflection would be effective in securing a larger response. By February 4, 547 had responded and by February 10, before the publication of the list could have had any effect, a total of 618 replies had been received.

On February 9, as already announced, the names of all those who had responded to the questionnaire were published in the local paper. A separate notice addressed to the community people and signed by the president and secretary of the community association was inserted adjacent to the list of names. This notice emphasized once more the nature of the study as a community effort. It stated incidentally that if the reader would look over the list of names published he would find that his neighbor had responded to the questionnaire.

It was considered at this point that further returns were not likely to be received by the use of another follow-up letter. A different method was therefore tried out. On February 13 we consulted the vice-president of the local bank and the superintendent of schools as to the advisability of getting high school students to collect questionnaires at, say, 10 cents apiece. They favored the idea and stated that the athletic association in the village school was in need of funds and would probably welcome this chance to earn money.

Two days later we called on the superintendent of schools, and left with him a statement showing the amount we would pay to the athletic association for collecting questionnaires. This made provision for liberal bonuses. The superintendent said he would present the matter to the athletic association. The rate of pay and the bonuses appear in Table I.

On February 21 we called again on the superintendent of schools. He said that the athletic association would undertake the collection of the delinquent questionnaires. He called in three prominent members of the association. The whole project was explained to them. Lists of questionnaire delinquents in each district were given to them. Questionnaires and sample copies of filled

out questionnaires were provided. These students agreed to carry out the details of the work with the superintendent as a general supervisor. The students were also provided with copies of a set of suggestions called "Points to Remember in Collecting Questionnaires." On March 2 word was received from the superintendent that the boys had collected about 90 questionnaires. More blanks were requested and were sent at once.

On March 12 a visit was made to the community to collect the 90 questionnaires. Nineteen additional ones were left because of incompleteness.

On April 5 another visit was made to the superintendent. Twenty-three more questionnaires were ready. He said the boys felt they had collected all they could. Upon closer questioning it was discovered that the real reason for the let-down on the part of the athletic association was that a few of the mem-

TABLE I

Questionnaires Secured	Amount at 10 Cents Each	Bonus	Total Amount
100.....	\$10	\$2.50 (\$2.50 per 100)	\$12.50
200.....	20	7.50 (Add \$5.00 for 100)	27.50
250.....	25	12.50 (Add \$5.00 for 50)	37.50
300.....	30	20.00 (Add \$7.50 for 50)	50.00
350.....	35	30.00 (Add \$10.00 for 50)	65.00
400.....	40	42.50 (Add \$12.50 for 50)	82.50

bers had done all the work, while the others had shirked. The few became dissatisfied with the arrangement and lost interest.

On April 11 ten more questionnaires were received from the athletic association. The superintendent reported that no further interest was likely among the members. The matter was pushed no farther.

Of the 1,114 letters sent out, a total of 768 questionnaires was finally secured by means of the various devices used. This is a return of 68.9 per cent.

The reason for using the questionnaire method instead of a house-to-house canvass, as had been previously considered, were: (1) to reach more persons than could be reached otherwise in view of time, condition of roads, and so on, and (2) to secure information uninfluenced by the presence of an investigator.

The reasons for the various separate devices used in the application of the questionnaire method are sufficiently evident. The aim was a large number of complete and accurate records concerning individuals. The devices employed were used because they promised to contribute to this end.

COLLECTION OF MISCELLANEOUS DATA

Supplementary facts were secured by persons interviewed or by special arrangement with persons who were informed. A list of property taxes paid by each householder was prepared by the county clerk. The membership list of each organization was secured through its secretary. Home ownership lists were secured by the bankers. Various other incidental information was furnished from time to time by consultation with well-informed citizens. All of this assistance, except that of a casual nature, was paid for on an hourly basis.

IMPLICATIONS OF THIS STUDY

Several implications may be stated from this study: (1) that the trade-area community is the normal unit for the study of social contacts; (2) that rural social research can be "sold" to rural people in the interest of community improvement; (3) that local people can be employed as both an extension and a re-enforcement of professional research personnel; (4) that primary group consciousness, especially in terms of community loyalty and social reflection, can be utilized as an effective aid in rural research; (5) that the questionnaire technique can be developed into a more useful research device, and (6) that research technique which involves local co-operation is based on social psychology, and requires for its successful application not only a knowledge of local conditions, but an active use of imagination, diplomacy, and versatility on the part of those in charge of the project.

RURAL-URBAN DIFFERENCES IN RELIGIOUS CULTURE, BELIEFS, AND BEHAVIOR

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ABSTRACT

The least developed parts of rural sociology are those which deal with the psychosocial characteristics of the rural population and the psychosocial realities of rural culture, such as aesthetic, moral, juridical, and other psychosocial attitudes and phenomena of the rural world. The same is true of the religious culture and behavior of the rural classes. Many traits, ascribed to the rural people by various authors as the specific characteristics of their religious behavior, beliefs, and culture, are speculative. In the subsequent part of this article, an attempt is made to formulate briefly a few propositions which outline some of the fundamental rural-urban differences in religious culture, beliefs, and behavior.

The least developed parts of rural sociology seem to be those which deal with various psychosocial characteristics of the rural population, cultural realities of the rural world, and the inner structure of rural organization. While we know a great deal about the bodily and vital characteristics of rural people and the material and economic conditions of rural life, we know much less about psychosocial and cultural phenomena. Information pertaining to this part of rural sociology represents, mostly, purely speculative hypotheses based on no, or very meager, scientific evidence. Take, for instance, the field of the aesthetic and art realities of rural people and their aesthetic tastes, evaluations, and behavior. A section devoted to these topics is generally absent in courses in rural sociology. This absence is excellent testimony of our complete ignorance of these subjects. Or, again, take the field of the moral and juridical culture and behavior of rural people. We have some positive information about comparative rural-urban criminality, but beyond this, which does not cover at all the vast field of moral and juridical phenomena, we know little, if anything, about this aspect of rural culture. The same may be said of the political culture and behavior of rural people, and the various forms of rural social organization. Publications and courses in "rural social organization," as a rule, do not go beyond a half-clerical enumeration and purely exterior description of various rural agencies and institutions. This only scratches the surface of the psychosocial phenomena involved in rural social organization and gives little, if any, insight into "the heart" of the problem. The same may be said of many other psychosocial characteristics of rural people as given by various authors. For instance, in almost all works in rural sociology we read that the farmer and peasant class is conspicuously *individualistic*. When, however, we look for sci-

entific proofs of the statement we find that they are very meager. We have hundreds of hypotheses about a conspicuous conservatism, reactionism, and monarchism, or, on the contrary, about a conspicuous democratism, spirit of freedom, and tolerance of the rural classes; about their extrovertial, or, on the contrary, introvertial character; about their antiscientific, or, on the contrary, sound logic and thinking. Courses in rural sociology are full of such contradictory statements, and yet they are either purely speculative or are based on insufficient scientific evidence.

A similar situation to that noted above exists with reference to the rural-urban differences in religious culture and behavior. Some writers assure us that farmers are more religious than urban people; some assert the opposite. Some ascribe a conspicuous mysticism, magical superstition, paganism, animism, spiritualism, fatalism, dogmatism, and emotional religiosity to the agricultural class. On the contrary, other writers stress the realistic and practical character of the religious beliefs of this class, and the lack of mysticism, dogmatism, and paganism.¹ A slight test of these and similar statements shows that they are rather questionable in their validity.

A series of well-known facts shows that in regard to the principal characteristics of religious beliefs there has been scarcely any conspicuous difference between the agricultural and the urban population. Christianity, Hinduism, Confucianism, Mohammedanism, Judaism, Buddhism, Tao-ism, and other world-religions, have been shared by urban as well as by rural populations of the corresponding countries. Their rites, theology, dogmas, and ideologies, in their essential aspects have been the same for both urban and rural classes of the population, with the exception, perhaps, that urban intellectuals have usually polished them much more than the bulk of the urban and rural populations. The same may be said of "animism," "fetishism," "totemism," "monotheism," "polytheism," and other general traits of beliefs. It is also hard to prove that the religion of the rural population is more "emotional" or "fatalistic" or "superstitious" or even "mystical" than that of the urban population. In the past, for instance, in Greece, the unemotional and epic "religion of Apollo" (in the terminology of Friedrich Nietzsche) and the emotional religion of Dionysus or Bacchus existed within both the rural and the urban population. Epicurean and Stoic forms of religious aptitudes were developed in Rome among both classes of the population. Medieval emotional religious epidemics (whether they be epidemics of witchcraft, the dancing of Vit, or the Crusades) and various mystical religions and beliefs² cannot be regarded as either predominantly urban or

¹ See for instance W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, *Polish Peasant*, I, 207-32, 238, 287; J. M. Williams, *Our Rural Heritage*, chaps. xv-xvi; A. L'Houet, *Zur Psychologie des Bauerntums* (1905), pp. 171 ff.; N. L. Sims, *Elements of Rural Sociology*, chap. xiv; M. L. Darling, *The Punjab Peasant* (London, 1925), chap. ix; F. Carli, *L'equilibrio delle nazione*, pp. 206-11; J. G. Thompson, *Urbanization*, chap. xxi; L. von Wiese, *Das Dorf als soziale Gebilde*, chap. vi.

² For mystical movements of the Middle Ages and earlier times, see S. Angus, *The Mystery Religions and Christianity* (New York, 1925); E. Alison Peers, *Studies*

rural, according to the origin and rearing of their initiators, or according to composition of their followers.

The same seems to be true of the contemporary emotional and less emotional religions, revivals, and religious epidemics; their representatives and followers are found both in the city and in the country. Nor do we have any evidence that would show that there is a particular correlation of the emotional type of religious sect and rurality or urbanity.³

It seems to be difficult to prove that rural people are, for instance, "more religious" than urban people or vice versa. Such statements are always vitiated by the ambiguity of the term "more or less religious." Suppose that rural people at the present moment are nearer to "fundamentalism" than to "modernism" or adhere to Christianity more than do the urban people. This alone would not enable us to claim that the farmers are "more religious" because the deviation of urban people from "fundamentalism" or "Christianity" may only mean that they have shifted to other forms of religion than "fundamentalism" or "Christianity." Objectively, this would mean only a difference in religious beliefs and attitudes and not "more or less religious."

Thus we have to recognize that our knowledge of rural-urban religious characteristics is rather poor. It is not better in the other enumerated psychosocial fields of rural sociology. As a result, the part of our science pertaining to culture is still in a very imperfect stage of development. If we want to have a real science of rural sociology, we cannot afford to have a continuation of this situation. From a purely scientific as well as from a practical point of view, an adequate knowledge of these psychosocial aspects of rural life is as important as the knowledge of its biological and economic material aspects. For the sociologist the knowledge of the former field is possibly even more important than the knowledge of the latter because the psychosocial phenomena compose a more direct object of sociological analysis than the biological or even material phenomena. Moreover, from a practical standpoint an adequate knowledge of the psychosocial aspects of the rural life and its population is a condition absolutely indispensable for a successful reconstruction of rural life. Contrariwise, many reforms made blindly may give negative instead of positive effects.

The only objection to the necessity of a more serious study of these aspects of rural life is the problem of whether a scientific study of them is possible. They are so complex, elusive, and ever changing that a serious investigator may doubt the very possibility of an accurate investigation. It is far from

of the Spanish Mystics (London, 1927); Charles Guignebert, *Christianity*, pp. 275 ff.; L. Karsavin, *Studies of Religious Life in Italy of XIIth and XIIIth Centuries* (Russian).

³ One-sided ascription of a greater emotionality to rural religion, made by H. L. Sims, F. M. Davenport, partly W. Burr and Gill and Pinchot, is well counterbalanced by a series of facts compiled by J. G. Thompson. See Sims, *op. cit.*, pp. 328-31; F. Davenport, *Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals*, pp. 79 ff.; Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 516-24.

me to deny the difficulties involved. Nevertheless, I am convinced that at least a part of these phenomena can be studied scientifically. Providing that adequate ingenuity, cautiousness, energy, and patience are displayed by an investigation, their study can yield results as accurate as the results obtained in the bioeconomical fields of rural life. The fundamental methods and technical procedures of their study are the same as those in any other science. Unfortunately in this field these methods have been applied but very little. An enormous mass of existing theories in the field have been based almost exclusively on data of "the speech-reactional" character, various questionnaire materials, interview data, and opinion data, often quite fragmentary and compiled in the most unscientific manner. Everybody who has dealt with and thought over the validity of these methods knows that they are the least reliable and give the most doubtful results. The exclusive use of these methods in this field has been responsible, in a great degree, for the failure to reach valid conclusions. Without denying their limited usefulness I am inclined to think that, in future studies, an application of other methods and a verification of the opinion data through the data of transsubjective actions or behavior must be incomparably greater. Among the numerous checks of the validity of a result achieved, one particularly important check may be mentioned here; it consists in a verification of the results obtained by one method through the results obtained by other methods. When the results obtained through different methods are similar, it is good evidence of their validity; when they are contradictory, it is an indication of the doubtfulness of their validity and the necessity of making further study of the phenomena involved.

As an illustration of this check, let us take the claim of a particular individualism of the agricultural classes mentioned in the foregoing. Try to check it by the historical method and you will see that the data of history do not confirm it at all. They show, in fact, that this class has been a conspicuously collectivistic class and that individualism has been least developed in agricultural societies. Try to check it with the statistical data concerning co-operative unions, criminality, mutual aid, and integrity of the family. These data unmistakably contradict the claim. As a result, it is to be rejected as an inadequate generalization. A vigorous application of this check to other theories helps enormously in a separation of what is valid and what is fallacious in the bulk of these hypotheses. To sum up: a scientific study of the psychosocial aspects of rural life is possible, but it requires much greater care, patience, and precaution than the study of many "material" phases of rural life.

As an illustration of these statements, I offer a few propositions concerning some of the rural-urban differences in the field of religious phenomena. Logically following from the basic differences between the city and the country and being confirmed by the data of history and statistics, they appear to me relatively valid. Promising to give further evidence in my joint work with Professor C. C. Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, I shall give only a few considerations and the essence of the generalizations. These generalizations are based upon certain differences between the city and the country.

We know (1) that the city contains a higher proportion of foreigners and persons recruited from various and remote areas than the rural communities; (2) that the city population is more heterogeneous biologically, socially, psychologically, and morally than the country population; (3) that the system of social contacts of the city man is wider, more complex, and brings him into contact with more numerous and different groups with different religious ideas than the system of contacts of the rural man, and (4) that the process of social change is faster and more intensive in the city than in the country. These basic "variables" suggest the essence of the first and second propositions.

First proposition.—The first generalization is as follows: Since the beginning of a clear differentiation of the city from the country, each given urban population, compared with its corresponding hinterland, has contained a higher percentage of people affiliated with other than "the native" religion of the society, while the rural population has had a higher proportion of the people affiliated with "the native religion" of the area studied.

As mentioned, this proposition logically follows from the basic differences of the city and the country. Is it confirmed by the data of statistics and history? It is. For the United States of America "the native religion" was the Protestant in its various denominations, because the first European settlers, in the majority of the states, belonged to that type of Christianity. Hence, rural America is predominantly Protestant, while urban America has a considerably higher proportion of followers of other religions: Roman Catholic, Jew, Greek Orthodox, not to mention Confucianism, Buddhism, Jainism, Mohammedanism, and other non-Christian religions.⁴ The followers of these religions are con-

Table I in abbreviated form depicts the situation for the United States of America in 1916. Taking as 100 the total number of members of all religious denominations in each specified class of community, we have the religious composition of the cities and of communities below 25,000 given.

The first categories of the "foreign" religions are concentrated in the cities, and the "native" religions in the country. Further, while from 62 to 92 per cent of all members of various Baptist denominations, from 77 to 90 per cent of all the Methodists, from 60 to 86 per cent of all the Lutherans, 83.1 per cent of all the Disciples of Christ, 64.3 per cent of all members of the Congregational church, 75.1 per cent of all the Evangelical Christians, are in the rural (below 25,000) communities, only 43.5 per cent of all the Roman Catholics, 15.8 per cent of all the members of the Eastern Greek Orthodox church, and 9.3 per cent of all the members of the Jewish religion, are in those communities, the greater part of them being in the cities of 25,000 and more.⁵ This clearly shows the difference discussed.

In England and Wales the "native" religion is the Established Church of

⁴ If in some states, like Louisiana, there is a considerable proportion of Roman Catholics in rural parts, the reason is that for such a state the "native" religion was, in considerable degree, Roman Catholic. Exceptions of this type only prove the rule. centrated predominantly in cities.

⁵ Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, *Religious Bodies* (1916), I, 121.

England, plus some other Protestant denominations, while the Jewish and the Roman Catholic religions are "foreign." The proposition discussed is corroborated by the data of the distribution of these religions as shown by the statistics of the manner of solemnization of marriages. In each 1,000 marriages, in 1919, there were solemnized, according to the rites of the Established Church of England, in London 565, in England and Wales 597; according to Roman Catholic rites, correspondingly 55 and 52; according to the Jewish rites, corre-

TABLE I

All Denominations,* among Them	New York City	Cities of 300,000 and More	100,000 to 300,000	50,000 to 100,000	Outside of Cities of 25,000 and Above
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
I. Non-native religions:					
Roman Catholics	73.6	66.1	51.4	52.3	25.7
Greek Orthodox	1.1	0.7	1.0	0.6	0.1
Jewish	4.5	2.7	1.8	1.5	0.1
II. Native religions:					
Baptists:					
Northern	2.2	2.6	3.4	3.1	2.9
Southern		0.3	2.6	1.8	9.4
National		1.8	4.7	3.6	9.3
Disciples of Christ		0.6	2.0	2.3	3.8
Methodist Episcopal	2.4	4.2	6.0	6.5	10.8
Southern		0.3	2.7	1.9	7.1
Lutherans		2.1	0.8	1.1	2.0

* Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, *Religious Bodies* (1916), I, 121-22.

spondingly 26.5 and 5. Further, "Church of England marriages are relatively more frequent in the English rural counties."⁶

In Poland the "native" religion is Roman Catholic. According to the foregoing proposition, we must expect more Roman Catholics in the rural parts of Poland. The expectation seems to be well warranted by the facts. While in the total population of the city of Warsaw only 63.8 per cent are Roman Catholic, in the whole Warsaw department the percentage is 85.4. Corresponding data for the city of Lodz and the department of Lodz are 53 and 77 per cent; for the city of Wilno, it is 59 and the province of Wilno 79.4.⁷ In Berlin, Germany, the number of Protestants per thousand persons in 1910 was 815.5; and in the Brandenburg Province 937.3; the numbers of Roman Catholics were corre-

⁶ *Eighty-second Annual Report of the Registrar-General* (1919), pp. xxvi-xxviii.

⁷ *Annuaire Statistique Polonaise* (1924), pp. 12-15. In some of the provinces of Poland, added to it recently, where the "native" religion is different, the situation must be reversed, and it is reversed. The data show further a high correlation of the percentage of the Roman Catholics with that of the Polish nationality by provinces, which further confirms the proposition discussed.

spondingly 117 and 53; the number of Jews 43.5 and 3.1; the number of persons of other religions 23.7 and 6.2.⁸ In Sweden the percentage of the people affiliated with the dissident religions (other than the Swedish church), namely Roman Catholic, Jewish, and others was 1920, 0.2 in rural parts, 0.7 in urban, and 1.1 per cent in Stockholm.⁹ The same rule holds for India¹⁰ and Finland,¹¹ Russia, and many other countries.

Thus, the statistical data well support the proposition suggested by the fundamental conditions of the city and the country. Its testing through historical method and data seems to confirm it also. For these reasons it appears to be relatively valid.

Second proposition.—The totality of the urban and rural beliefs may be divided into two parts: the beliefs which were, are, or will be common for the city and the country, and the beliefs which were, are, or will be specific only for the city or for the country population. These specific beliefs appear, develop, and die within the city or the country only, and do not spread much beyond their urban or rural area. The subsequent proposition concerns only the common or national religious culture. As a rule, in the national religious beliefs the change originates in the city and spreads to the country population only later. As a result, there almost always is a lag in the change of the religious beliefs of the rural population compared with the urban. While the attitudes and beliefs of the urban population have already deviated from the previously prevalent attitudes and beliefs, these are still vital or exist unchanged within the rural population. Hence, a discrepancy between the attitudes and beliefs of the city and the country population which exists, to some extent, at any given moment. In periods of "religious upheavals" the discrepancy is great; in periods of a relative immobility of religion it is slight and inconspicuous. If there are cases when the change originates within the rural population and later on spreads to the urban, the result is similar, an existence of a rural-urban discrepancy. Such is the second "formal" and relatively general and constant difference. Some representative facts to illustrate and corroborate this proposition follow.

We know that Christianity originated in the city and spread at the beginning within the city population. Speaking roughly, there was a lag of about one or two centuries between the conversion to Christianity of the urban and the rural population of the Roman Empire.

⁸ *Statist. Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich* (1926), p. 5. If in other provinces of Prussia or Germany the number of the non-Protestants is lower than in Berlin and the number of the Catholics is higher, the reason is that for such provinces (for instance Bavaria or Oberschlesien) the "native" religion has been the Roman Catholic and not the Protestant.

⁹ *Statistisk Årsbok för Sverige* (1926), p. 11.

¹⁰ *Statistical Abstract for British India* (London, 1925), pp. 10-11.

¹¹ *Annuaire Statistique de Finland* (1927).

The most stubborn resistance (to Christianity) comes from the country people, the *pagani*, through their attachment to highly specialized minor local deities and to ancient customs entrenched by superstition. Their uncouthness renders the evangelization of them a somewhat dangerous matter. The word *paganus* means a dweller in the country, *pagus*. It has now been demonstrated that the hostility of the peasantry to Christianity gave the meaning of "pagan" to *paganus*. This seems to date from the first half of the fourth century and it gradually becomes general in the second half.¹²

This is one sample of the lag and discrepancy discussed in the foregoing.

A similar phenomenon has happened many times. For instance, in the replacement of the Roman Catholic orthodox religion by the ideologies and attitudes of "Epicureanism" during the period of the Renaissance in the cities and rural parts of Italy; in the diffusion of various forms of Protestantism in urban and rural parts of the corresponding countries; in the diffusion of the "atheistic and enlightened" attitudes of the philosophy of the eighteenth century in France; in these and many similar processes the country religious attitudes lagged behind those of the city people and resulted in the existence of more or less discrepancies of the type outlined above. Something similar seems to have taken place in the origin and diffusion of Mohammedanism, Buddhism, and several other religious currents. Finally, a series of well-tested facts indicates a similar phenomenon in the present. We live in a period of a crisis of Christianity. According to this proposition, we shall expect the lead of the cities in this process of "dechristianizing." The facts seem to corroborate the expectation. First of all, take the case of Soviet Russia, with the atheistic propaganda of its government. The substitution of atheism and communistic materialism for Christianity originated in the Russian cities, has spread more in the cities, and only later on, after a lag of several years and with much less success, has it reached the peasants of Russia.¹³

In 1926-27, 200 American newspapers, under the guidance of a special committee, made a religious poll throughout the United States, principally in the cities. A total of 125,000 answers to the questions were received. The results show the percentages given in Table II of believers in the principal dogmas of Christian religion among all who replied, among the population of the sixteen largest cities, and, finally, among the population of the city of New York.¹⁴

The data show that the belief in these principal dogmas of Christianity is most undermined in the largest city, next in the sixteen chief cities, and, finally, in smaller cities mixed with the country districts. The less industrialized southern region gave the highest percentage of believers in comparison with other—more urbanized—regions. If the poll had separated the rural popula-

¹² Charles Guignebert, *Christianity, Past and Present*, chaps. i-viii; pp. 175-76. P. De Labriole, *The History and Literature of Christianity* (New York, 1925), pp. 1-43, 67 ff.

¹³ See *Antireligiosnik*, January, 1928 (Russian).

¹⁴ *Literary Digest*, January 15, 1927, pp. 30-31.

tion from the urban, the difference probably would have been still greater. The present seems a period of deep transformation if not of decay of Christianity. The figures testify that the city leads in the process of this transformation, and as a result we see the discrepancy discussed in the foregoing.

Statistics of several other countries indicate a similar phenomenon. In Finland, in 1925, the number of persons not affiliated with any of the existing religions in the cities was 18.5 per thousand of population, in the rural parts 6.1 only.¹⁵

In Prussia (1910) there were atheists, people without religion, and free-thinkers not affiliated with any religion, in Berlin, 9.37 per ten thousand of

TABLE II
PERCENTAGES OF "YES" VOTES

	Total	Sixteen Chief Cities	New York City
Belief in God.....	91	89	73
Belief in immortality.....	88	86	64
Belief in prayer.....	88	84	63
Divinity of Jesus.....	85	82	61
Inspiration of Bible.....	85	81	57
Members of church.....	77	73	51
Church attendant.....	76	72	50
Children in religious school..	72	69	55
Religion is a necessary element	87	86	74

population, and in its suburban province of Brandenburg 8.31, while in the majority of other provinces of Prussia the quota was below 1. It was somewhat higher in the highly urbanized and industrialized provinces of Sachsen (2.88), Hessen-Nassau (2.59), and Rheinprovinz (5.24). But even in those provinces, it was far below the figure for Berlin and its neighboring area.¹⁶ Thus, here also the cities seem to lead in the present process of "dechristianizing" the population. The existing data for England and Wales show a similar picture.¹⁷

Further, with the progress of urbanization, the percentage of atheists or of people who declare themselves "irreligious" has been systematically increasing.¹⁸ Add to this the well-known fact that such classes of city population as the professionals, students, intelligentsia, on the one hand, and on the other the proletarians give at the present moment a particularly high percentage of "atheists" or "people free from any historical religion."¹⁹

¹⁵ *Annuaire Statistique de Finlande* (1927), p. 46.

¹⁶ *Statist. Jahrbuch für den Preussischen Staat* (1914), p. 18.

¹⁷ *Eighty-second Annual Report of the Registrar-General* (1919), pp. xxv-xxviii.

¹⁸ See *Annuaire International de Statistique* (1916), pp. 152-57; (1920), pp. 94-95; *Statistik Årbok für Norge* (1924), p. 20; *Yearbook of the Union of South Africa* (1910-24), p. 132.

¹⁹ Dr. J. H. Leuba's study has shown that among American college students and professors, from 40 to 60 per cent do not believe in God and immortality. Prole-

Add to this the fact that various "atheistic organizations" exist and prosper in the cities. Further, various popular writers, with their skeptical and mocking attitudes in regard to historical religions and Christianity (H. G. Wells, G. B. Shaw, H. L. Mencken, Upton Sinclair, Sinclair Lewis, and others) are again urban dwellers and from the city and through the city spread these attitudes throughout the country. Take into consideration, further, many ministers of "Christian denominations" who in their sermons and ideologies, in spite of their professions of Christianity, have very little, if anything, from Christianity as it existed historically, and practically deny its fundamental dogmas (divine nature of Christ, immortality of soul, the very existence of the soul itself as an entity, the dogma of the virginity, the dogma of the creation of the world as it is told in the Old Testament, and so on). These are 99 per cent urban. These and similar facts scarcely leave any doubt as to the leading rôle of the cities in "the dechristianizing of the beliefs" at the present moment. The country is "lagging." As a result there is the discrepancy discussed.²⁰

Third proposition.—The two preceding propositions describe the urban-rural differences in the distribution of religion, regardless of its character. This and the following propositions attempt to indicate some differences in the characteristics of the religious beliefs of the classes compared. It is understood that in this field an investigator is practically "in a sea" of "delicate" and "elusive" differences, and any conclusions have many exceptions. At the best, we are making a very approximate attempt to give some typical characteristics which are not entirely fictitious.

Whatever may be the concrete forms of religious beliefs, attitudes, and ceremonies of the city and the country populations, including even cases in which they are identical in essence (for instance Christianity of the same denomination with similar dogmas, attitudes, and beliefs and rites), nevertheless, there always seems to exist differences "in coloring" of these attitudes, beliefs,

tarian atheism in European countries is rather well established. Of 5,391,000 proletarians of Germany, united into labor unions in 1913, 2,573,000 united into socialist labor unions are to be regarded, in their bulk, as free from an affiliation with the historical religions. Similar facts were established by special studies of their religious attitudes by several investigators. See J. H. Leuba, *The Belief in God and Immortality* (Boston, 1916), pp. 202-3, 212-16, 250-53, and chaps. vii-x; P. Sorokin, *Systema Soziologii*, II, 200 ff.; *Social Mobility*, pp. 402-13; a series of volumes, *Auslese und Anpassung der Arbeiterschaft*, published in the *Schriften der Vereins für Sozialpolitik*; Gertrud Hermes, *Die Geistige Gestalt des Marxistischen Arbeiters* (Tubingen, 1926).

²⁰ This stands in contradiction to the results of the Census of Religious Bodies in the United States, as they are interpreted by some of the writers. When, however, these data are properly analyzed, they show that church membership is really higher in the country than in the city. The census data are in an agreement with the proposition. See this analysis in Sorokin-Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*. See also C. L. Fry, *Diagnosing the Rural Church*, pp. 117, 201 ff.

and ceremonies in the populations studied. The agricultural class "colors" them in a way considerably different from the city population. The nature of the occupation, the occupational environment, and the general environment of the city and the country stamp the religious beliefs and practices with different stigmas and "colors." Concrete forms of this difference are very numerous and various and are impossible of description in general formulas. However, in each given case, they may be detected and put within the general formula of the third proposition. Here are a few examples from the present time. The time of the harvest and its completion is the time which, in the life of the agricultural class, has an enormous importance. Hence, whether in the form of a Thanksgiving Day, or in some other, it is always marked in the religion and ceremonies of the agricultural population.

It is a day of worship in celebration of harvest. . . . Easter is another holy day of similar origin. The renewal of plant life and the germination of seeds that gave rise to it led to appropriate religious rites.²¹

[Generally] the beginning and the end of the harvest, storing and threshing the crops, grinding the grain, milking the cow, taking eggs from the hen, shearing the sheep, collecting honey and wax, spinning, weaving, the sowing, the cutting of lumber and collecting of firewood, the building of the house, the preparation and eating of the food—all the acts involving a consumption of natural products were or are still accompanied by religious ceremonies, thanksgivings, blessings, and expiatory actions.²²

This, with corresponding variations, may be said of agricultural populations of many countries.²³

In the round-the-year activity of the city population, many of these periods (seeding, harvest, and the like) and activities do not exist. For this reason, the corresponding celebrations and religious festivals either do not take place, or, if they exist, are only "survivals" from the agricultural period. As such they have a considerably different meaning from that given to them by the agricultural population.

Take further the character of representation of various saints by the city and the country population. St. George is a saint for the urban and the rural population. But while for the city population in Russia, he is only a Christian martyr, for the peasant population he is "a protector of the horses and cattle." A similar "coloration" is given to the peasants' representation of "God," "St. Mary," "paradise," "hell," and so on. It does not consist, as some state, in the fact that religious beliefs of the agricultural class are more superstitious than those of the city (in this respect there is no valid evidence), but in the fact that the beliefs are "colored" with the traits and characteristics taken from

²¹ N. L. Sims, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

²² Thomas and Znaniecki, *op. cit.*, I, 221.

²³ Mr. Lynn Smith has furnished the authors evidence of the agricultural coloration of Mormonism, a rural religion (in origin). In an hour's time fifty "agricultural" figures of speech were found in the text of the Book of Mormonism.

the agricultural environment and the agricultural life-activity. These are different from those of the city and of city life.

With a reasonable degree of certainty it is possible to assert that the religious beliefs, rites, images, and dogmas originated by the ancient or relatively modern agricultural classes are "agricultural" in their very nature and as such are different from those of the city population. Agricultural gods or spirits have been, in essence, personified agricultural plants and animals. J. G. Frazer's classical study has shown, first, that the principal deities of agricultural peoples have been nothing but a "personification of cultivated plants," particularly corn. The vine-god Dionysus and the corn-goddess Persephone, with her mother and duplicate Demeter among the Greeks; Osiris and Isis of ancient Egypt; Tammuz of Babylon; Adonis, of Syria and other countries, and Attis, of the Phrygians, were nothing but corn-gods. The spirits of the corn-mother and the corn-maiden in northern Europe, in all their rich variety, are but the same corn-gods. The life-histories of the gods, their birth, growth, death, dismemberment, and resurrection is a bizarre symbolization of the change of the seasons, the rhythm of the yearly decay and revival of life (particularly of vegetable life), and the rhythm of the seasonal agricultural activities. Finally, thousands of rites of these agricultural peoples (so rich in their variety and so numerous) show quite conspicuously the agricultural character and coloration of the religious beliefs and rites created and spread among the agricultural peoples. As illustrations we cite the rites of "eating the god" in the form of a sacramental eating of new corn or of other agricultural plants or animals; that of a sacramental sacrifice of the first fruit or corn to the gods; the rites of killing the corn-spirit or divine animal; the rites of propitiation of vermin and enemies of crops; even of the sacrifice of human beings for the crops; the rites of "crying the neck" and "cutting the neck" at harvest, in the past and in the present; the rites of the Yule boar; and of Plough Monday.

These beliefs and rites still practised by the peasantry at opposite ends of Europe, no doubt date from an extremely early age in the history of agriculture. They are probably far older than Christianity, older even than highly developed forms of Greek religion. [And in spite of this, in modified forms they still are alive] in the cottages of the peasantry, to come forth on sunshine holidays and parade, with a simple but expressive pageantry, among a gazing crowd of rustics at the very moment of the year when their help is most wanted by the husbandman.²⁴

²⁴ J. G. Frazer, *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild* (London, 1912), II, 335; see all the details, forms, variations, and developments of the statements made in this text throughout two volumes of this work and in Frazer's *Adonis, Attis, Osiris* (London, 1907). These volumes give rich material in support of the proposition discussed. See also E. Martinengo-Cesaresco, *The Place of Animals in Human Thought* (London, 1909), *passim*; A. Smith, *Village Life in China*, pp. 137 ff.; A. Porteaues, *Forest Folklore* (New York, 1928); Fanny D. Bergen, *Animal and Plant Lore* (1899), *passim*; F. D. Bergen, *Current Superstitions* (1896); Hilda Roberts, "Louisiana Superstitions," *Journal of American Folklore* (1927), pp. 144-209; Vance Randolph,

However it may be in the future, one thing is quite certain, namely the religions created by the agricultural peoples have been "agricultural" in their very nature; and as long as the differences between the agricultural and the city population and environment remain, there exists and shall exist some different "coloration" of religious beliefs, ideas, rites, and other components of religious consciousness. If the city accepts the religious beliefs created by the rural people, it modifies them according to its "nature"; if the rural people are converted to the religious system created by the city, they "change" and "color" it in their own "agricultural" manner.

Fourth proposition.—The next general difference between the total sum of religious representations and beliefs of urban and rural populations seems to be this: The rural religious ideas and images are more conspicuously marked by traits of "indeterminism," and nature (versus man-made culture) occupies a more conspicuous place in them than in the urban religious representations and beliefs; man and man-made culture occupy a greater place in urban religion, and the ideas themselves, especially at the present time, tend to be stamped more by the traits of "mechanisticism," "materialism," and "determinism."²⁵

This difference is but a reflection of the differences in the whole environment and activities of rural and urban populations. Urban environment and occupational activity are predominantly mechanistic, man-made, and materialistic; rural environment and occupational activity have been predominantly natural, organic, vitalistic and indetermined by personal efforts. Hence the foregoing difference. Plants, animals, and their personifications and symbolizations are the centers about and around which is woven a fanciful lace of religious magic, images, and rites, fairy tales, myths, and legends. The sacred and deified objects of reverence have been among the agricultural classes not engines, machinery, and mechanical objects, but, as a rule, tree, stream, plant, animal, wind, rain, sun, and other "natural objects." In the contemporary urban populations the cases of a deification of similar objects are exceedingly rare.

As to mechanisticism, materialism, and determinism, the difference manifests itself in many and various ways. For the bulk of the rural population "natural objects are always animated, often conscious and even reasonable. The animated and conscious thing seems to be a category of peasant logic and conceptual life in the same sense that the mere "thing" or "substance" is a category of scientific reasoning."²⁶ Whether in the form of the animation of na-

"Folk Beliefs in the Ozark Mountains," *ibid.* (1927), pp. 78-94. In these and other numerous studies of the folk beliefs and superstitions—mostly of agricultural peoples—the characteristics discussed are quite conspicuous and clear.

²⁵ Determinism is used here in the sense of antithesis to "free will."

²⁶ Thomas and Znaniecki, *op. cit.*, 208-9. Compare J. M. Williams, *op. cit.*, chap. v; A. L'Houet, pp. 90 ff.; P. Meissner, *Der Bauer in der Englischen Literature*, pp. 33, 54, 60, 69, 95, 149, 161-65 and *passim*. See also Johannes Bolte, *Der Bauer im deutschen Liede* (Berlin, 1890); E. Martinengo-Cesaresco, *Essays in the Study of*

ture and things or in the form of beliefs in an existence of various animated objects behind material things, the religious and "philosophical" ideologies of agricultural classes have lacked systems and conceptions of any rigid determinism, mechanisticism, and materialism. This is partly witnessed even by the fact that various systems of more or less rigid determinism, mechanisticism, and materialism have appeared in cities and at the stages of considerable urbanization in countries of the past as well as of the present. In the sources of thought of ancient rural societies, such as ancient India, Persia, Egypt, or China, it is hard to find any serious traces of these "urban" religious or philosophical systems and ideologies. Sources such as the fifty volumes of *The Sacred Books of the East* give various "animated" ideologies, be it sollypsism, transcendental idealism, spiritism, pantheism, monotheism or polytheism, fetishism, animism, totemism, and what not, but they contain little if anything from "determinism," "materialism," "mechanisticism," or even "agnosticism."²⁷ On the other hand, with the progress of urbanization in Greece we see the appearance of the materialistic and deterministic philosophies of Democritus and Leukippes; the atheistic and mechanistic ideologies of thinkers like Anaxagoras, or the materialistic and deterministic conceptions of Epicureanism and some of the sophists. In a similar way, only at the stage of high urban development in Rome, was the appearance and spread principally within the urban population of the materialistic and mechanistic conceptions of Lucretius or Lucian, the Roman edition of Epicureanism, and mechanisticism. The disurbanization of the Roman Empire, after the third century A.D., put an end to these ideologies and called forth a diffusion of spiritualistic beliefs. They dominate until the thirteenth century. By that time urbanization of Europe had made an enormous progress. Since that time we see again the reappearance and growth of various materialistic, mechanistic, deterministic, atheistic, and epicurean ideologies. They were prominent at the time of the Renaissance and later. In the seventeenth century they assume the forms of the "social physics"—quite mechanistic and deterministic and to a considerable degree materialistic. Urbanized Europe began to move in that direction. The eighteenth and subsequent centuries exhibit the parallel growth of cities and this type of "be-

Folk Songs (London, 1896); *The Place of Animals in Human Thought*; A. Porteous, *op. cit.*; the works of Bergen, Roberts, Randolph, and Frazer, quoted.

²⁷ Study from this standpoint the ideologies, dogmas, metaphysics, beliefs, philosophies, and cosmogonies of Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Judaism, Greek and Roman religions of the earlier stages, Zoroastrianism, and Egyptian religion, not to mention Christianity or Mohammedanism. The few traces of materialism and mechanisticism found in the history of the religious and philosophical thought of those countries appear relatively late, when large cities appeared and, as a rule, were accepted only by very few individuals; they never became "popular" or were accepted by the masses and especially by the agricultural classes of the population. Read and study the *Sacred Books of the East* mentioned and the histories of religion and philosophies of those countries.

liefs" and philosophies more and more. They are set forth and fostered in the cities and are spread from them to the country people. At the present moment, under various forms and names—"scientific concepts," "materialism," "mechanisticism," "agnosticism," "atheism," "determinism," cheap "behaviorism" (of J. Watsonian type), and so on—the process has gone so far that it is thought to be "unscientific" to admit "the animation" of nature, "indeterminism," "the existence of animated agents behind the phenomena," or "vitalism." Many scientists, literati, and members of the city proletariat deny any "soul," or "anima," or "vital force," or "psychism," even in human beings themselves. They try to interpret man as a mere "complex of matter" or "entirely determined machinery" similar to any other machinery only a little more complex. In predominantly agricultural stages everything and the whole inanimate nature have been "animated," and the material substance itself has been "spiritualized" and "humanized." In the predominantly urban stages, the soul, the man, and the psychical experience itself have been "materialized" and "mechanized," and depicted as a mere variation of a mechanism and of material machinery.

Such is the contrast and such is the correlation of the change in religious beliefs and philosophies with ruralization and urbanization. The simplification of this correlation, given in the foregoing pages, does not make the conclusion fallacious. The same contrast may be observed at the present time. In spite of the contamination of the rural population by these urban mechanistic concepts, the rural peoples still participate in them to a much less degree than the urban, and the traditional "spiritualistic, animistic, and indeterministic" beliefs are still preserved in a much more vigorous form than in the city. The hotbeds of materialism, agnosticism, mechanisticism, atheism, and determinism are still the cities. Of course, the more the difference between the city and the country is obliterated and the more the rural parts are urbanized, the less and less conspicuous this difference will be.

Fifth proposition.—The next more or less constant and general difference in religious beliefs and convictions of the classes studied is greater rigidity and firmness in rural religious beliefs and greater amounts of skepticism and sophistication in the beliefs and convictions of urban peoples.

In its ideal typology, the beliefs of the farmer-peasant class, accepted as taught from tradition, are held, so to speak, without questioning, analysis, doubts, or sophistication. Since the individual is born and reared in a homogeneous religious atmosphere, where he is taught only one religion, and where he is out of contact with the influence of many opposite and mutually criticizing religious ideas and dogmas, he accepts the ideas as natural and valid. As a result, he is firm in his beliefs. He is convinced of their righteousness. For this reason sometimes he is intolerant of other religions. In the city the religious situation is considerably different. Cities are the centers of interaction of several and often different religions. The city man rarely may avoid this fact and the silent or open struggle and rivalry of various religious and philosophical systems. This rivalry leads to a mutual criticism, and the mutual criticism

leads to a weakening of the sacredness and infallibility of each of the fighting religions. Under such circumstances, it becomes difficult to believe "naïvely" the complete righteousness of one set of ideas; religious relativism and syncretism become rather inevitable; criticism, skepticism, sophistication, and sometimes "freedom from any religion" have greater chances of development. Instead of the rural monopolistic, unsophisticated, and naïve, but quite firm, religious convictions, soft, critical, rationalized, syncretic, often mutually tolerant, and highly sophisticated ideologies begin to blossom in the city. And the more the greater is the urbanization.

Thus the conditions of greater mobility and heterogeneity facilitate urban development of religious syncretism, criticism, relativity, skepticism, sophistication, and weakness of beliefs. The greater homogeneity and immobility of rural environment facilitate comparatively greater firmness, rigidity, powerful convictions, and the "naïve" character of the religious beliefs.²⁸

²⁸ See a substantiation of these effects of mobility in Sorokin's *Social Mobility*, chap. xxi.

POPULATION PROJECTS

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the article is to describe some of the large and valuable bodies of rural population data and to indicate how they might be better utilized. Although population studies are basic to almost every branch of the social sciences relatively little work is being undertaken in this field. Figures compiled by the federal government alone furnish vast bodies of significant facts about the rural population of the United States, yet only a small fraction of the materials gathered is published or analyzed. The materials available could be used in making studies of rural migrations, racial assimilation, community surveys, and so forth.

Population studies are basic to almost every branch of the social sciences. The mere number of people is an important consideration in most social situations, while facts about the distribution of populations can help to answer such practical questions as where to draw an international boundary, how many schools should be operated in a given area, whether this is a good place to start a factory, and whether that community has too many churches. Studies of migration are also socially valuable. The influx since 1880 of millions of southern Europeans into the United States has given rise to some of the most perplexing issues confronting the nation. Even more important than the quantitative are the qualitative aspects of certain population problems: Are feeble-mindedness and insanity on the increase? Is the mingling of racial strains biologically beneficial? These and many other similar inquiries are of the greatest significance to the welfare of mankind.

In spite of the potentialities of population studies, social scientists in general, and rural sociologists in particular, have avoided such projects. The recent report on *Rural Sociological Research in the United States* when discussing studies of migration from farms, states that the only inquiry based on personal field investigation published on this subject before the past year was a monograph put out by Cornell University in 1924. In preparation for the meeting of this society, a list was compiled showing the number of rural population projects now in progress and it was found that only six rather small studies were under way.

In view of the importance of the subject, dozens of investigations in this field are badly needed. As the report on rural research points out:

It seems obvious . . . that a thorough analysis of the social composition of the populations of the villages and open country should be made in every state as a basis for dealing with its social problems. Further studies of the migration from farm

to village and city and from the latter to the farm will be necessary in order to determine as far as possible whether there is a process of social selection going on between farm and city, and if so what are the characteristics and causes of such selection. The answer to this question may furnish the basis for most far-reaching changes in public policy.

If we, as social scientists, had to compile the basic facts about population, the dearth of population studies would be readily understandable. Imagine the job of going from door to door trying to fill out questionnaires for each rural dweller. Anyone who has participated in taking a household canvass knows the time, money, and energy involved in gathering even a few facts from a few homes. Luckily for sociologists, the federal government has assumed the herculean task of securing data about each inhabitant. Every ten years for the total population, and every five years for the farm population, it compiles important pieces of information about every man, women, and child in the United States. It is our main contention that this material constitutes a gold mine of social information which is being worked only to a fraction of its possibilities.

Before outlining the kind of important studies that might be made from these existing bodies of information, it is necessary to say a word about the materials themselves. A good many people imagine that the facts printed in the final *Census* volumes exhaust the population data available from the government. Thus many social investigators, if they fail to find what they want in the published *Census Reports*, assume the information is not procurable. This is far from being the case. The facts printed in *Census* volumes are only a fraction of those tabulated, and these in turn are only a fraction of those originally gathered. It is safe to say that ten times as much information is tabulated as is printed, and that the tabulated data are less than a tenth of those which are compiled but untabulated. In other words, the figures published by the government in its *Census* volumes represent only about 1 per cent of the gross. This is a fact that should be kept constantly in mind when considering possible population projects that might be undertaken on the basis of existing census materials.

Today social scientists are not making the maximum use of even the published population data and have hardly begun to exploit the values to be derived from unpublished sources. Yet many of these unpublished totals could easily be made available since the Census Bureau stands ready to furnish any but confidential figures. Materials that the Census Bureau have tabulated but not published can often be obtained free or at most by paying the mere clerical costs involved in copying off the figures. For example, the Institute of Social and Religious Research, when making its village study, wanted to know for each census division the marital status of rural men and women between forty-five and fifty-five, and between fifty-five and sixty-five years of age. In the published *Census* volumes this information is given for only the two age-groups combined, but by writing to Washington it was possible to secure the more detailed figures for a very nominal sum.

In those cases in which the desired data have not been tabulated, they can usually be secured merely by paying the actual tabulating costs. In connection with a study of the rural immigrant, it became important to know the racial background of the immigrant farmers living in Bayfield and Douglas counties, Wisconsin. The *Census* volumes present by counties the country of birth of the foreign-born farmers but they do not show the birthplace of the parents of native-born farmers whose mothers or fathers were born abroad. However, by writing to the Census Bureau, it was possible to secure in less than a week's time a tabulation of just the information needed. This computation was based upon a special hand count of the original census blanks and cost only \$10.

At present it is difficult to tell how easily a body of unpublished data can be obtained. Naturally, material which the Census Bureau has already tabulated can be secured more readily than untabulated totals. Of course, the *Census* volumes themselves furnish a clue to the materials that have been sorted and counted. Since no farm population figures were given by counties in the 1920 *Census* volumes, it is only reasonable to infer that these data were never tabulated by counties. In these and similar cases, it is necessary to recognize that summary totals can be obtained only by getting the Census Bureau to make special computations directly from the original schedules. On the other hand, since certain facts are printed for the rural population of each county, it is safe to assume that the government probably has in its files additional items in tabulated form.

In the last analysis, however, the only way to ascertain with certainty how readily unpublished census figures can be secured is to write to the director of the census. It is hoped that future *Census Reports* will include, besides the published figures themselves, a detailed statement of all additional materials that have been tabulated, as well as a statement of the terms upon which such figures can be obtained.

Having made it clear that the population facts available in the files of the government are far greater than the mere totals printed in the *Census Reports*, we are now in a position to discuss the possible uses of this vast body of data. Potential projects group themselves into three main types: first, the intensive study of sociologically important subjects; second, studies over time, particularly migration studies, and third, detailed studies of local areas.

So far as the intensive studies of important social topics are concerned, it becomes obvious, after only a moment's reflection, that there is a whole series of worth-while subjects that might be investigated on the basis of existing census data. Consider for a moment the vast body of facts that the government compiles bearing upon the present status of the foreign-born whites in the United States. The last census ascertained among other things, the place of residence, the age, sex, marital status, illiteracy, school attendance, year of entry into the country, and the citizenship of each of approximately thirteen million foreign-born whites. If analyzed and digested, these data would make a most valuable contribution to knowledge. On the basis of such a study it should

be possible to tell which nationality groups were most rapidly becoming American citizens; how the occupational status of foreign-born groups vary among themselves; to what extent the occupations of the children of the foreign-born differ from their parents; what are the significant contrasts in the marital status; home ownership; length of residence, and size of family between rural and urban foreign-born dwellers of the same nationality. In like manner, the data about Negroes and Orientals might be analyzed separately. Such studies would in turn afford significant comparisons among racial groups. As judged by illiteracy, home ownership, and occupational status, is the cultural level of the Negro below that of the Oriental and the foreign-born whites? These and many other puzzling questions might be answered merely by analyzing the existing data.

In addition to intensive studies of the different racial elements of the population, one might also analyze in detail the accessible data bearing upon such subjects as marital status, farm tenancy, home ownership, and so on. Take, for example, the question of marital status. It is generally believed that the average age of marriage in this country is rising; but if this is the case, how can the fact be explained that in 1920, relative to their numbers, 10 per cent more young women between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five years of age were married than was the case in 1900. Since the government knows the marital status of every woman in the United States, it is possible to find out among what groups this increase has taken place.

Comparison between the census returns for 1900 and 1920 bring us to the second group of possible projects, namely, studies over time. It is a well-recognized fact among sociologists that the ultimate aim of the social sciences is to find, if possible, laws or trends. One great obstacle to the discovery of social tendencies is the absence of comparable data for earlier periods. From this standpoint the census materials afford an exceptional opportunity, since it is the government's practice to gather at regular intervals strictly comparable items of information. Thus it is quite possible to compare in a number of important ways the composition and characteristics of populations today with those of yesterday. For instance, Mr. Warren S. Thompson in collaboration with the Census Bureau has recently completed a study showing changes in the country's rate of natural increase by comparing the 1920 ratio of children to women of child-bearing age with similar ratios for early decades. In somewhat the same way it would be possible to contrast present-day figures dealing with such subjects as illiteracy, home ownership, and occupation with those of previous decades. For example, it would be interesting to know the extent to which the coming of the automobile had changed the occupations of rural dwellers.

From the standpoint of rural sociology, possibly the most valuable studies over time that could be made on the basis of existing census materials would be rural migration studies. Detailed facts about the farm population for each of the 3,000 counties in the United States were obtained in 1920 and in 1925. This means that data are at hand to compare in any given county or group of

counties the farm situation before and after the recent agricultural depression. Such a study could be made to answer important questions like the following: Where has the exodus from the farms been greatest and where least? Have Negroes been leaving southern farms in greater numbers than have the whites? To what extent are foreign-born replacing the native-born farmers? How has farm tenancy been affected by the depression? In what kinds of agricultural areas have farm mortgages shown the greatest increase? These and a score of other equally important questions could be answered on the basis of information for each county. Of course, in actual practice, the cost of making such a nation-wide study on a county basis would be prohibitive because the census did not tabulate farm population figures for 1920, the only detailed tabulations of 1920 being the admirable study of eight counties originally put out by Dr. Galpin and Miss Larson under the title of *Farm Population of Selected Counties*. If Dr. Galpin or someone else were to compare the facts presented in that monograph with the findings of the 1925 agricultural census for the same counties, the results would undoubtedly be exceedingly valuable. However, it ought to be possible for the sociological departments in some of our state universities to carry the process farther and to secure similar facts for additional counties. Because the 1920 agricultural census was not tabulated by counties, it would be necessary to do what Dr. Galpin did and tabulate directly from the original 1920 returns. This is a relatively expensive process, although the sum involved would be quite nominal compared with the cost of gathering the data in the first place. Such tabulations would not only help to throw light on the factors involved in the present rural exodus, but they would furnish a basis for future comparison. For example, after the 1930 census has been tabulated, it would be possible to compare the situation then with conditions in 1920 and 1925.

The possibility of undertaking special county tabulations leads naturally to a discussion of the third type of investigation, namely, the intensive studies of local areas. The government data are preserved in such form that virtually any local community can learn a great deal about itself simply by analyzing the census facts already compiled for that locality. From many standpoints this would be the most valuable use that could be made of census returns.

If a health clinic wants to know the number of babies in a given area; if a local Y.M.C.A. wants facts about the number and distribution of the boy population in a certain section; if a housing commission wants data on the extent of overcrowding in the homes of this or that community, let them first assemble and digest the information available in the files of the government before going ahead to gather information by first-hand field studies. This procedure may seem so obvious as hardly to require elaboration, yet it is amazing how few individuals or organizations are making use of the government's vast reservoir of facts. I recently ran across a professor of sociology who told me with pride of a study he was making of home ownership. After weeks of work he had finally succeeded in getting questionnaires filled out for less than 1 per cent of the group of homes he was trying to study. Apparently the man did not

know that since the Census Bureau regularly compiles complete information about the ownership of every home in the country it was, therefore, feasible to obtain from Washington with relative ease not only present-day facts about all the homes in his community that were rented or were owned by the occupant, mortgage-free or mortgaged, but even to secure this same information for earlier decades, thus making possible significant comparisons over time.

The point is that people do not sufficiently appreciate the possibilities of census data. As a rule, even social research workers are accustomed to make a distinction between census data and field materials; yet the fact is that in its raw state census data constitute the largest body of existing field data. Every census blank has been filled out for each individual family separately. By going back to the original blanks or to the existing tabulations of small areas, it is generally possible to make census data fit the needs of local studies.

Detailed census tabulations of local areas should not only be of value to the local leaders in each particular area intensively studied, but they should also be of use in planning the larger social policies of a state or region. If a state crime commission wants to analyze its criminal records intelligently, it needs to know the composition and characteristics of its population, not merely for the state as a whole but for local areas as well. Of what use are facts about births, death, sickness, crime, and dependency until the age, sex, race, color, and nativity of the people themselves are also known.

But, someone may say, such facts are already available in the published *Census Reports*. True, certain totals for comparatively large areas are to be found there, but the trouble is that these larger aggregates often conceal vitally significant differences among the constituent elements that go to make up these totals. Take, for example, the term "rural." Until recently, all unincorporated places having less than 2,500 inhabitants have been thrown into this one category, which was assumed to comprise a homogeneous population group; but within the last few years facts have been produced to show that the so-called rural element of the population was divided into at least two distinct elements—the village and the open country—which are radically different from each other. How was this discovery made? Primarily by breaking down rural census totals and analyzing village and farm population data separately. Here, then, is another reason for undertaking detailed census analyses.

There is one other use of detailed census facts to which I want particularly to call attention, because to my mind it would be of supreme importance in helping to make the study of society measurably scientific.

As everyone is aware, the social sciences are tremendously handicapped because it is largely impossible to apply to the social field the experimental method that has been of such outstanding value in the progress of the natural sciences. If a biologist wants to study the reactions of guinea pigs to certain stimuli he can easily study them under controlled conditions; that is, all other factors are held constant except the variables he wishes to analyze. In the so-

cial sciences, however, this process is largely impossible. People will not let themselves be so studied. Thus the study of social data is complicated by the multiplicity of factors involved. However, if we had the kind of detailed information that a census analysis of local areas would give us, one could more nearly approximate the experimental method, because complicating variables could be eliminated by the simple process of selecting for study only those communities which were essentially alike. For example, if all the census facts were known for a large number of individual villages, it would be easy to select from the group places of similar size that were essentially alike in the composition and characteristics of their populations. By then studying only these comparable communities, the investigator would have eliminated a large number of disturbing variables. In other words, he would have approximated the thing that a biologist does when he keeps the guinea pigs he is working upon in a constant-temperature room.

Let me illustrate the value of classification as a method of eliminating disturbing variables by briefly describing one aspect of a health study for New York state that is being conducted by the Millbank Fund. One object of the study was to arrive at a corrected rural death-rate for tuberculosis. The rate as given in published government reports is unsatisfactory because in New York many city people, when they get consumption, go to sanatoriums located in rural areas. Since all the people who die in these sanatoriums are included among the rural deaths, it is obvious that a correction is necessary in order to arrive at the actual tuberculosis death-rate for rural people. The correction was easily obtained by the simple expedient of working out the tuberculosis rate for all counties that were entirely rural in population and that had no sanatoriums. Here, then, is a direct and simple method of approximating the results that would have been obtained had controlled experimentation enabled some superinvestigator to keep the city tuberculosis patients from going to rural sanatoriums.

The preceding discussion has shown that the population data of the census can be used in a number of highly profitable ways. This raises a final consideration; what organizations are available to undertake the kinds of studies just outlined. Of course there is the government itself. The Census Bureau has, in theory, proceeded on the assumption that it gathers but does not interpret the data, but in actual practice it is putting out more and more interpretative volumes. At the last census a whole series of monographs was prepared dealing with such subjects as a farm population, school attendance, population increases, and the like. With one or two exceptions, these volumes were prepared by outside experts, not employees of the Bureau; but since the government furnished all the basic data for these studies and later published them as official documents, it becomes obvious that they are virtually official interpretations of government figures. As the government has gone this far, the question arises why it should not go farther and plan not only to put out more interpre-

tative volumes but also to have them prepared by employees of the Bureau. Such an arrangement would have many advantages. For one thing, paid employees would be in a better position than outsiders to put out worth-while studies because they would be devoting full time to their work.

In view of the value of the government materials, it would seem desirable for the Census Bureau to create a division of research and analysis which would undertake intensive studies of census data and would also help outside research agencies to obtain census facts in the form best suited to their needs. The establishment of such a Bureau would in no way mark a new departure in government practice but would merely be developing in the population field the kind of research work that is already a well-established feature of other departments of the government, notably in the Department of Agriculture.

Even though the government should greatly expand the interpretative aspects of its work, there will still remain a great many valuable studies that might profitably be undertaken by state and local agencies. It would seem eminently worth while for some agency in each state to undertake detailed tabulations of the census data of that area.

On the basis of census returns, highly useful tabulations that amount almost to block studies have been made for cities like New York, Chicago, Cleveland, and Nashville; but few attempts have ever been made to study intensively the census materials available for the rural sections of a state.

Dr. Bruce L. Melvin's recent monograph dealing with the trends in the rural population of New York state from 1855 to 1925 illustrates the value of analyzing the rural population totals for a state, but available census data make it possible to study not merely the size but also the composition and characteristics of rural population groups. This would seem a most worth-while undertaking for the rural sociological departments of state universities. Because of the value of the data both as laboratory materials for classroom use and as a practical guide to business, social and philanthropic agencies of the state, there seems to be no reason why the expenses of such an undertaking should not be paid for out of Purnell Funds. Indeed, I can imagine no more productive use that could be made of Purnell money than to finance strictly comparable studies in five or six states of all the rural population materials available in Washington dealing with those states. Such studies would have the added advantage of making possible not only significant comparisons within each state studied, but also equally valuable comparisons among states.

In closing, let me point out that although the social sciences labor under certain decided handicaps as compared with the natural sciences, they enjoy the great advantage of having vast bodies of significant data regularly compiled for them by government and other agencies.

When biologists, for example, want to study the starfish they must make every individual observation themselves, whereas in the social field a whole army of workers are constantly assembling significant bodies of reliable data.

During the present adolescent period when sociology is still in the painful process of trying to justify its existence as a science, one would have imagined that many workers would have devoted their energies to making the most of these large bodies of information regularly compiled. Indeed, this would seem one of the most hopeful places to begin the study of sociology. Yet as a matter of fact, research workers have hardly begun to distil the values out of these ready-to-hand materials. This is a task that should commend itself to every one interested in the scientific study of human society.

THE LIFE-STUDY METHOD AS APPLIED TO RURAL SOCIAL RESEARCH

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ABSTRACT

The life-study method as applied to rural social research. The life-study method, as contrasted with the statistical method, is one of intensive observation of living forms, continued for a period of time. Recent rural research has been unduly influenced by the idea that only quantitative methods should be used (an idea springing, as the writer believes, from an obsolescent philosophy), and has shunned lifelike description. The aim of a descriptive technique is to give a lifelike or dramatic picture of typical functional behavior. Suggestive examples of descriptive technique may be found in contemporary sociology and also in psychiatry, anthropology, and literature. While the technique of the social scientist cannot be that of the novelist, it may profit by a study of it. There is no good reason for limiting scientific social description to overt behavior.

The aim of all our study, I suppose, is a more adequate perception of life, to see better what is going on, and for this purpose we must in some way break up the social complex and examine it by parts. There seem, in general, to be two ways of doing this: we may study closely actual persons or groups, and use the perceptions thus gained as a core upon which to build an understanding of other persons and groups, and eventually of the whole complex very much as a naturalist hidden in a tree-top with his camera watches and records the nesting behavior of a pair of birds, hoping by a series of such studies to understand those of the species. This is the method of intensive observation, known in general as case-study. When it takes the form of lifelike description covering a period of time it may be called more specifically the life-study method, and it is this term that I shall use here.

On the other hand, we may observe on a large scale and attend to the individual case only to see whether it does or does not manifest certain standardized traits, the object being to arrive at averages, scales, graphs, and the like, which may for certain purposes be regarded as representative of the social complex. This method is like that of the naturalist who shoots his birds and describes them on the basis of measurable characters, like the length of the bill, or the number of primary, secondary, and tertiary wing feathers, proceeding then to classify them in species and varieties, in order to study their distribution, movements, and evolution. This is the method of extensive abstract observation commonly known as the method of statistics. It has well-known advantages upon which I need not dwell, but has the defect of always remaining abstract and schematic, of never grasping life in its organic reality. It has nu-

merical precision (which is by no means the same as truth to fact) but does not attempt the descriptive precision that may be attained by the skilful use of language, supplemented, perhaps, by photography, phonography, and other mechanical devices.

There are those who depreciate lively description on the ground that it is not quantitative and hence does not permit exact measurement and comparison; but they overlook, it seems to me, two facts: first, that distinctively human or social behavior, being a phenomenon of patterns rather than quantities—patterns of facial expression, gesture, voice, words, and the like—can be stated in quantitative terms only by a fiction of some sort, which is often useful and hence justifiable, but removes the procedure from the sphere of exact science; and, second, that the idea of the quantitative having an exclusive claim to be the true or perfect form of knowledge, or the only one that makes science possible, flows from an obsolescent philosophy from which it would seem desirable to escape.¹

All the natural sciences are primarily descriptive, and sociology is that natural science in which description is more various and difficult than in any other. What should we think of a zoology that failed to give a lifelike account of the animals?

On its affirmative side the quantitative ideal—measure everything you can—is admirable; on its negative side—deal with nothing that you cannot measure—I believe it to be obstructive.

I venture to think that we can expect no satisfactory insight into any social complex without making life-studies of the chief social agents involved in it. This is the only way to make a living as distinct from an anatomical analysis. We are seeking, I presume, to get at the human meaning of our institutions and processes as they work out in the lives of men, women, and children. How can we expect to succeed without perceiving in human terms what is now going on?

We notice constantly that it is hardly possible to interest even intelligent people in social exposition that does not take a lifelike form, and that statistics, except as an adjunct to something more human, are commonly regarded as unreadable. Of the millions who read eagerly about Gopher Prairie, Zenith City, and Winesburg, Ohio, few, probably, will attend to a statistical survey of those

¹ A modern view may be found, for example in A. N. Whitehead's *Science and the Modern World* (1925); R. W. Sellars' *Principles and Problems of Philosophy* (1926); K. Koffka's *The Growth of the Mind* (1925), and in a recent pamphlet by William E. Ritter on *The Organismal Conception, Its Place in Science and Its Bearing on Philosophy* (1928), published by the University of California Press. Whitehead's position is especially interesting, since he is an eminent physicist who advocates abandoning the atomistic and mechanical conception of nature hitherto held by physicists and substituting an organic conception, which, since it answers to the evident facts of society, is largely used in sociology. Some of our colleagues would apparently have us "ape physics" by putting on the old clothes which the physicists themselves are beginning to discard.

places. Is this merely an effect of the slothfulness of the human mind, or has it some justification in common sense and the rational search for knowledge? The latter, I should say. The basis of reality for our knowledge of men is in sympathetic or dramatic perceptions; without these we are all in the air. No wonder, then, that common sense demands, first of all, that we be enabled to form such perceptions. The novelist gives us something human, dramatic, real; colored, no doubt, by his temperament and point of view, but far nearer the truth than any numerical description. He is a behaviorist who portrays people in action and shows minds and bodies functioning together in organic process. We cannot wholly scorn his method if we hope to put across sociology as a science of life.

In looking over examples of recent research in the rural field I have admired the ability and ardor of the investigators and have noted that some of them were seeking to animate their work by searching case-studies. On the whole, however, it seemed to me that the workers, somewhat obsessed by the idea that they must offer nothing unquantitative, have been timid about attempting a lifelike portrayal of behavior. I have in mind, for example, a recent study of rural villages, admirable in most respects, published in several volumes by the Institute of Social and Religious Research. The information has been faithfully compiled, intelligently organized, and clearly presented, but it certainly does not leave the reader with the feeling that he has seen deeply into the life of these villages. There would seem to be a fixed purpose, especially remarkable in a quasireligious investigation, to stay on the outside of things—religion included—and to be quantitative at all costs. Thus, regarding leadership, I read,

No scale could be devised within the scope of this investigation to evaluate leadership, to analyze its quality, or even to isolate the factors that accounted for the leadership attributed to the individual; and no previously devised methodology to do this was ready at hand. Leadership was evidently a fact of vital importance in these villages but to study it in any precise way is a task for the future.²

The lifelike portrayal of typical leaders by competent biographic or autobiographic description of their behavior in critical situations was apparently considered either unscientific or impracticable.

Unimaginative observation is superficial observation, no matter what the method may be. All science calls for imagination, and in our subject it largely takes the form of an insight into motives which makes possible a penetrating description of behavior.

A more satisfactory inquiry, from our present standpoint, is that of Kolb and Wileden into special-interest groups in Wisconsin. This is based on case-studies of 351 groups, the material obtained from schedules being skilfully digested by statistical and other methods, including the presentation of a com-

² Brunner, *Village Communities*, p. 93.

posite or generalized life-cycle of the kind of organizations studied. There are also eight selected case-histories illustrating processes of especial interest. I think highly of this report, and will only ask, by way of criticism, whether the case-histories would not have been more lifelike if given in narrative form instead of by detached paragraphs.⁸

Let me say a word in praise of that almost classic study, Williams' *An American Town*. I would not call it a model of method; it is good because Williams was thoroughly possessed of his material, had brooded over it, and worked himself into it until he deeply understood the people about whom he wrote. He is dramatic, not in form but in essence, by virtue of an insight into behavior which the reader is enabled to share.

The aim of a descriptive technique in rural sociology should be, I take it, so to picture the essential functional behavior of rural persons and groups that their life can be understood in as much of its dramatic reality as possible. It seeks to give "revealing instances" about which the reader may build a lifelike and just conception of what is going on. This involves a judicious selection of those events that *are* essential, that reveal the critical functions, the high spots as it were. There must be nothing lax or superfluous in scientific description any more than in a play. Only the indispensable must be shown; but that must be shown so deliberately and graphically as to be convincing. Just what the revealing instances are that should be selected in connection with projects of rural research now under way—studies of the standard of living of farm families, of young people's organizations, of the rural church, rural migration, rural leadership, and so on—I will not attempt to say, but it seems to me that all of them might and should be illuminated in this manner. Why should a standard of living be set forth merely in statistics, and not also by some description of how it works out in life?

I am not sure that there are any models that one could unreservedly commend to rural sociologists as guides to their descriptive technique; we need something new, something that combines the insight of literature with the disinterestedness and factual truth of science. Helpful examples may, however, be found in various quarters.

First and most important of these sources of suggestion is the good work already done in the rural field, as in the investigations I have mentioned. And a wider survey of sociology will show many instructive examples of the use of autobiographies, diaries, interviews, and other life-study materials.

A branch of literature nearly related to sociology from which we might learn not a little is the portrayal of the social psychology of nations other than our own. Although most such studies are far from scientific there are some good ones; for example a recent study of Germany by Professor George Dan-

⁸ I should like more incidents as telling as the story of the meeting of the Sunnyside Community Club.

ton, of Peking.⁴ His manner of seeing is sociological and penetrating, while the facts he gives are not less convincing for being without formal arrangement. He has, as it were, psychoanalyzed many types of Germans with notable fairness and skill, thus making possible a real understanding of their behavior.

A more formal use of psychoanalysis may be found in the science of psychiatry, which has developed a searching kind of case-study by interviews, of which the investigation of juvenile delinquency, as in the Judge Baker studies by Dr. Healy, offers perhaps the best examples. This instrument might well be focused upon representative persons in the rural scene. It is a subjective method in the sense that it depends for its data on the insight and judgment of the observer, rather than on anything independent of his personality. It is therefore hard to check and liable to be swayed by preconceptions, but may be trustworthy when we have confidence in the observer and when we have other means of confirming his results. Training in this technique may be had at the schools of social work and at some universities.

Another technique that one may well make himself familiar with is that of anthropology, found in good descriptive monographs. As matter for scientific observation a primitive tribe is not wholly unlike an unfamiliar aspect of our own society, and in a competent work, such as that of W. H. R. Rivers on the Todas, we can see how it may be described. As good examples could probably be found in American anthropology.

A marked feature of anthropological technique is the extended use of photography to show typical persons, both in repose and as functioning in the customary processes of the tribes. And I may add that the field of mechanical record of social process through motion pictures, phonography, and the like is one in which fruitful development may be expected. I have remarked elsewhere that social life, in its sensible aspect, presents itself as patterns rather than quantities, and if so the techniques by which patterns may be recorded are full of scientific promise.

As regards literary technique in general, the sociologist should study it if only because it is one of the most exact and searching forms of communication, itself a social process of the greatest interest. In using it as a means of social description he will not aim at anything so brilliant as to divert his own attention or that of the readers from the sober truth. And yet it is his duty to give a living transcript of his perceptions. I am inclined to think that the chief and perhaps the only rule to follow is first to make sure that he himself sees clearly what he wishes to describe, and then to try patiently to express it, taking care to work only when his mind is fresh and his vision clear. The best writers have, I believe, no other method; any formal rule or any imitation of a model will prove a delusion. I recently made a rather careful study of an excellent contemporary novel with a view to discovering just how the author succeeded so well in portraying character.⁵ My chief conclusion, after examining many pas-

⁴ *Germany Ten Years After* (1928).

⁵ *Death Comes to the Archbishop*, by Willa Cather.

sages, was that her description was so varied, so elusive, so subtly suggestive, that it seemed probable she had no formal technique at all, but, having the character vividly before her mind, merely indicated its behavior in each situation as she saw it. Visual description was less frequent than I expected to find it; in fact there was an avoidance of the overtly dramatic in favor of a finely indicated drama of thought and sentiment. And yet this is no esoteric work but a best seller.

In any case the technique of descriptive social science can hardly be that of the novelist, because the latter is seeking to communicate something of his own device, the actuality of which is not in question; he aims only to convince the reader that it might be true. The scientist, on the other hand, aims to describe an event and also to substantiate it by an array of fact. Thus he has reason to lean rather heavily on the sensible, to introduce verifiable details when they are relevant, and to convey verbal behavior in part by direct quotation. But after all his own vision of the fact must be the dominant thing; if he does not convey this he will convey nothing worth while. To pass on to the reader unselected and unorganized facts is simply to make himself unintelligible.

It may be worth while to linger for a moment before concluding to consider the question whether social description should confine itself to reporting overt behavior, including speech, or whether it should also report states of mind which the observer perceives by an insight for whose truth he can give no tangible evidence. Clearly such insights should be offered and received with caution and checked constantly by something more verifiable. If we had at hand a perfect technique for seeing and recording all overt behavior, it would perhaps be possible for the observer merely to select and present what he thought most significant without further comment. But even this would involve interpretative insight, and in view of the actual inadequacy of our means of record I conceive that the attempt to describe human events from the outside only is visionary, and that science as well as common sense justifies us in supplying some measure of interpretation. The truth is that our everyday perceptions of a man's behavior are a mixture of the visible or audible with imaginations of the psychic process going on behind it; without the latter we couldn't follow him at all, should lose track of him, and overlook what was most significant even in what we could see and hear. Our whole interaction with one another is of this kind. We perceive the other person's behavior, ascribe to him a corresponding state of mind, respond to this state of mind by our conduct, and note whether his further behavior shows that we understood him rightly. Mostly it does, and so we come to know empirically that we can and do understand his mental process enough to respond successfully to it, and to elicit desired responses in return. The ascription of a course of mental behavior is, then, in the nature of a working hypothesis which guides and sharpens our observation of a course of overt behavior. If you observe the outside only you will observe

that superficially. Who, for instance, would notice the subtle but expressive differences in the lines about the mouth and eyes if he had not, by a process involving introspection, learned to associate them with interesting states of feeling? A merely external behaviorism would be a shallow behaviorism, and if those who profess to ignore the inside are not always shallow, it is, I suspect, because they do not always adhere to their principle.

INFLUENCE OF FORMAL SCHOOLING ON CONSUMPTIVE TENDENCIES IN TWO RURAL COMMUNITIES

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ABSTRACT

Information gathered from 871 families in two Utah rural villages shows a striking correlation between the amount of formal schooling which the parents had received and the possession of certain utilities, such as household conveniences, automobiles, piano, phonograph, and so on. The authors are led to suggest that the "diffusion" of these items of material culture is accelerated by schooling. There is also a correlation between the amount of indebtedness on the home and the possession of these utilities. This leads to the final proposition that schooling intensifies wants for the utilities under consideration so that immediate satisfaction involves contracting away a portion of the future income.

I

New utilities and techniques are constantly being introduced into our environment, and are either accepted or rejected by us. Whether or not we accept particular items at the time we are exposed to them depends upon a number of factors. Chief among these is our perception of their utility to us—our subjective valuation of them, as Böhm-Bawerk has said. This subjective valuation is quite largely an outgrowth of the intensity of our wants for the particular goods. And these wants, in turn, are in the main socially determined. It is true there are basic physiological needs which are independent of social experience; but the circulation of the vast majority of economic goods today depends upon socially determined or conditioned wants. It follows, therefore, that whatever affects the intensity of wants, or creates new ones, affects the standard of living.

The spread of the use of particular items in any material culture—a phenomenon we are considering in this article—is called by Tarde "imitation," by which term he seemingly meant to describe about the same process as contemporary anthropologists term "diffusion." It is a well-known principle of modern business that the rate of diffusion of any economic good can be affected by the devices of modern communication commonly known as advertising. What advertising does is, by the use of psychological techniques, to modify our wants, and thereby our buying behavior. Incidentally, it is significant that the advertiser never sets out to increase the incomes of people; rather he goes directly to the task of conditioning their subjective valuations. He thereby recognizes in practice what many now hold in theory, that income is not the dynamic factor in determining standard of living. The important thing for the advertiser is to "lower the threshold of response."

We arrive at the inference, then, that the dynamic factors in the standard of living are the subjective valuations of people. These might be called attitudes, in the sense that they refer to "tendencies to act." They exist antecedent to any act of purchase or expenditure. It becomes a problem of interest, then, to discover any specific elements in our culture which tend to modify in any definite way or direction our subjective valuations.

It is in this connection that the present study is apropos. It has seemed to the writers of more than passing interest that several investigators have noted the influence on standard of living of the amount of formal schooling which people had received. When in the course of some general community studies conducted in Utah, a similar relationship was seen to exist there between the amount of schooling received and the possession of certain utilities which have become associated with what is considered a higher living level, we thought it would be of interest to add the confirmatory results to those submitted by others.¹

II

The present study differs from that of most other investigations in this field in that it is not confined to a particular occupational or industrial group, but takes in all of the people residing in two farm-village communities in Utah. One of these communities, that of Ephraim, has a population of slightly over 2,000, while the other, American Fork, exceeds 3,000. Both are essentially agricultural communities of the Utah farm-village type; that is, the farmers live in the communities and have their farms outside. All of the major occupational groups are represented in the population. There are farmers and merchants, doctors and lawyers, entrepreneurs and laborers. About 50 per cent of the family heads in American Fork and 60 per cent in Ephraim are farmers. Ephraim is somewhat removed from the urban centers of the state. It is on a branch line of a railroad, and the nearest town of 10,000 people is about 80 miles distant. American Fork is nearer the center of industrial life. It is 15 miles from a city of 10,000 and 35 miles from one of 150,000.

The heads of families used in this study were all more than thirty years of age. It was thought desirable, in order better to isolate the influence of the educational factor, to take only those who had had an opportunity to get established economically.

The data were secured by the survey method from all the homes in the two towns, 871 of the families being used in the calculations. The schedule was carried to the homes by a field investigator, who filled out the blanks as the individuals answered the questions.

¹ E. L. Kirkpatrick, *"The Standard of Life in a Typical Section of Diversified Farming,"* Cornell University Experiment Station Bulletin 423 (1923); "The Farmer's Standard of Living," *United States Department of Agriculture Bulletin* 1466 (1926); J. F. Thaden, "Standard of Living on Iowa Farms," *Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin* 238 (1926).

It is not pretended that this is a standard of living study in the usual sense of involving a complete analysis of income and expenditures. The items used are, however, parts of a material culture which are in the process of diffusion, and we feel that the results are as significant with respect to these items as they would be if they concerned price aggregates.

The families were arranged into groups with respect to the number of years of schooling received by the parents as follows: (1) both eighth grade or less; (2) one parent high school, other eighth grade or less; (3) both parents high school; (4) one college, other less than college; (5) both college. Then the percentage ownership of the various utilities by the groups was determined. These percentages are shown in Table I.

TABLE I

TOTAL FAMILIES, PERCENTAGE HAVING	EDUCATION														
	Both Towns					Ephraim					American Fork				
	1*	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
	502	153	131	69	16	208	77	81	28	8	294	76	50	41	8
Running water.....	58	67	81	94	100	54	71	80	96	100	60	62	82	93	100
Kitchen sink.....	41	50	69	86	94	36	55	68	86	100	45	45	72	85	88
Modern bath.....	31	44	56	72	81	23	51	49	71	75	37	38	66	73	88
Indoor toilet.....	31	43	56	70	81	23	48	49	64	75	37	38	68	73	88
Cesspool.....	29	42	59	75	81	24	49	53	75	75	33	36	68	76	88
Power-washer.....	62	82	85	84	88	61	82	81	89	100	62	83	90	80	75
Automobile.....	32	52	56	84	94	30	39	47	75	88	33	66	72	90	100
Telephone.....	24	33	50	65	75	19	35	46	57	75	28	32	56	71	75
Piano.....	27	42	48	68	69	25	42	42	64	38	29	42	58	71	100
Phonograph.....	39	48	53	67	50	36	57	53	50	38	41	38	54	78	52
Central heat.....	6	8	15	16	50	2	5	7	7	25	8	11	28	22	75

* Numbers refer to education groups.

With one or two exceptions, the possession of the items increases proportionately with the advancing educational groups. More than eight times as large a proportion of the college-educated were equipped with central heating systems as was the case for the elementary-educated. The proportions for most of the other items are from about two to three times as great in the group with highest education. This is true for the families considered in the aggregate, or for both towns taken separately. The results for the two towns are about the same, with a few minor differences.

For one thing it is noted that for the item of central heat in the home, American Fork shows a considerably higher proportion. However, the trends for the different educational groups, in the case of this item, are very much the same. The difference in total proportionate possession between the two towns is not of vital interest to this discussion. The significant fact is the similarity of trend with respect to the education of the parents.

Again, there is noted a disparity in the case of power-washers. Here again the general trend holds, but in the case of American Fork, the difference between the low- and the high-education groups is not so marked as in the case of Ephraim. This might be due to the existence in American Fork of a commercial laundry, whereas there is none accessible to the people of Ephraim. If this explanation be correct, it seems a good illustration of the operation of one of Tarde's "laws," which is, in effect, that the "imitation" (diffusion) of a new "invention" is modified by the existence in society of competing inventions.

Finally, in the case of American Fork, it is noted that the second education group (that is, the one in which one parent has some high school, with the other eighth grade or less) does show a proportionate rise in the case of most of the items. But while they fell down in the case of many items, they ran "true to form" in the case of automobiles and pianos. Nevertheless, in no case do they fall below the showing made by the group next below. As compared with Ephraim, all of the families in American Fork own proportionately more cars, but the greatest variance is for the second and third educational groups.

An interesting comparison which can be made from Table I is the relative importance which different educational groups place upon the various items. Those with elementary education only have chosen to have phonographs in their homes in two-thirds as many cases as they have running-water in the home, whereas the college educated families rank this item below any of the others except central heat. The elementary families placed the desirability of the phonograph only slightly below a sink in the kitchen, and considerably above a toilet in the home, a bathroom, or a cesspool. The high-school educated placed these items about on a par with the phonograph.

As compared with running-water, the elementary-educated parents placed a value of slightly more than 50 per cent on toilet in the house, bathroom, and cesspool. The college-educated ranked these at 80 per cent as desirable as running-water, and the intermediate groups had intermediate relative valuations. Except for the elementary-educated group, the kitchen sink appears to be only slightly more desirable than an automobile.

The data as a whole seem to indicate that, except in the case of the phonograph, the relative desirability of the different items is much alike; but the higher the education of the parents the greater the degree to which all of the desires are gratified. In case of the possession of only two items does the college-educated group fall to 50 per cent, whereas the elementary-educated group falls below 50 per cent possession in all except two items.

A study was also made of the relation of education to the proportion of homes with indebtedness and the average amount of the debt for those with homes encumbered. Using the education groups as previously, the percentages with debt are, respectively, 14, 17, 18, 39, and 31. This seems to indicate a rather pronounced tendency for those with higher education to live beyond their income. The mean amounts of indebtedness for the respective groups are \$793, \$865, \$902, \$1,176, and \$1,050. Thus, not only does the percentage

of those in debt but also the amount increase with the amount of education received. There is an exception in the case of the highest educational group, in which case the numbers we are dealing with are so small as to make the sample rather unreliable.

To try to find whether this indebtedness on homes came through expenditures for home conveniences and luxuries, the data were compiled by items previously given for groups arranged in accordance with amount of indebtedness. The total numbers included were small so that the reliability of the results may not be as great as might be desired. The percentages for the different groups are given in Table II.

TABLE II

Percentage Having	Amount of Debt on Home (Dollars)				
	1-499	500-999	1,000-1,499	1,500-1,999	2,000 and Over
	(49)*	(46)	(35)	(8)	(15)
Running water.....	49	59	74	100	87
Kitchen sink.....	20	41	69	100	87
Bathroom.....	14	30	54	75	80
Indoor toilet.....	14	30	51	75	80
Cesspool.....	16	30	51	75	80
Power-washer.....	71	80	89	75	80
Automobile.....	41	56	69	63	80
Telephone.....	20	46	46	75	60
Piano.....	20	33	49	50	40
Phonograph.....	27	54	60	38	40
Central heat.....	2	4	17	.....	13

* Number of cases in the group.

Possession of the first five utilities in the list bears a marked relation to the amount of debt on the home. These items are such as would be included in the construction of modern homes in these communities. While the data at hand do not permit us to verify the conclusion, it is more than plausible that the upper ranges of debt have been incurred in connection with recently constructed homes. Putting these facts together with those found in connection with our study of the education groups, we are led to the inference that the higher the education the more likely are the individuals to demand "modern" homes, even though they must go into debt.

There is also a marked relationship with the percentage ownership of automobiles and the amount of debt. The car apparently is competing strongly for the unearned dollars, but is not yet ranked by this group alongside home conveniences. If we had the figures for total indebtedness, the picture might appear different.

In the groups with less than \$1,500 indebtedness the proportion of pianos and phonographs increases with the amount of encumbrance but above this amount the proportion remains the same or falls.

III

In general these data seem to indicate that schooling speeds up the distribution of certain items in our material culture, and that the higher the education the greater is this acceleration and the more pronounced the tendency for wants to outrun immediate ability to pay.

Any standard of living is the result of the number and intensity of wants for the utilities and services embodied in it. These wants are socially determined. The school is only one agency at work in society, but in conditioning the wants related to the specific items used in this study, the results indicate that it is of considerable importance.

THE ATTITUDE OF FARMERS TOWARD THE COUNTY FARM BUREAU

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ABSTRACT

This study was made during the summer of 1928 under the Purnell Fund for the Experiment Station of the College of Agriculture of the University of Illinois. One thousand and two farmers in thirty counties in the state were interviewed at random by one field worker. Of all farmers interviewed 47 per cent were *friendly* toward the farm bureau; 38.5 per cent were *indifferent*; 12 per cent were *critical*, and 2.5 per cent were *opposed*. Of the total number, 69 per cent were *informed*, and 31 per cent were *uninformed* as regards the farm bureau. The largest attitude classified group is that of the friendly informed among all present members (36.4 per cent). The percentage friendly in this informed group was virtually the same proportionately as between owners and tenants, or a total of 88.6 per cent. The second largest class is that of the indifferent and uninformed among the never members, comprising 15.8 per cent of the total number interviewed, the tenants here proportionately comprising the higher percentage of the indifferent, with a total indifferent in this uninformed group of 80 per cent. The third largest ranking is the indifferent and uninformed among the former members, comprising 8.5 per cent of the total interviewed, with the tenants here also comprising proportionately the greater percentage of indifferent. Other items considered are (1) reasons for discontinuing membership in the farm bureau and for never having joined; (2) helpful activity of the bureau; and (3) outstanding criticisms of the farm bureau.

This study was made under the Purnell Fund during the months of July and August, 1928, for the Experiment Station of the College of Agriculture of the University of Illinois. One thousand and two farmers, regardless of their tenure or membership affiliation with the farm bureau, were interviewed at random by one field worker in thirty counties, principally centrally located in the state, within which the college has been engaged for the last two years in a more intensive study of the individual county farm bureaus from the standpoint of their organization, personnel, membership, program, and policies. This study of the farm bureau as viewed from without the organization, or rather as its functioning touches or is considered by the individual farmer, was deemed desirable as a corollary to the larger and more involved study. It should constitute a fairly representative sample so as to reflect in the main the attitude of the farmers of Illinois toward the county farm bureau as an institution.

Although the operation of the farm bureau varies as between states its objectives may be broadly characterized as (1) economic, particularly in the promotion of co-operative enterprises; (2) educational, in encouraging the adoption of better farming practices; (3) political, in securing legislation favorable to agricultural interests, and (4) social, in fostering a more adequate

social life and in developing the spirit of "togetherness" among farmers. In Illinois, the county farm bureaus were organized primarily as educational agencies although the other features have been included. The organization period extended from 1912 to 1921 in which 96 counties of the 102 in the state perfected organizations. The latter years of this period were marked by a rapid expansion in membership, but the objectives and methods of operation were scarcely out of the formative stage when the agricultural depression began in 1920. The immediate result was a shrinkage in membership from 100,000 to 63,000, which point has since been consistently maintained. Hence farmers in the state may be grouped into three classes: present members, former members, and never members.

The farm bureaus in Illinois have served as the local agencies through which the extension program of the Agricultural College is promoted. In addition, each farm bureau employs a qualified farm advisor who is paid in part from state and federal funds. Being primarily educational in nature, the \$15 annual membership dues, \$4.50 of which go to the State or Illinois Agricultural Association, and \$0.50 to the American Farm Bureau Federation, were designed to insure a measure of adequate support rather than to have the organization a solely commercial one.

The information upon which the attitudes and individual reactions as revealed in this study are based was obtained by the personal interview method, employing a schedule. During the course of an interview, which lasted anywhere from ten minutes to an hour and a half, the interviewer effaced himself as completely as possible while obtaining the essential information. He was not looking for any one particular reaction or response on the part of the farmer being interviewed, and he endeavored to place the latter at ease so that he might as readily as possible reveal his real thoughts and attitude by assuring him at the start of the disinterested, objective, and impersonal nature of the study. In not more than a dozen instances has he been refused an interview after a brief explanation as to the purpose of the investigation, and these were instances chiefly in which the farmer in question preferred to be noncommunicative. The schedule covered the information as to tenure, membership in the farm bureau, benefits received from and criticisms of the farm bureau. After the interview the field worker then checked him off as either informed or uninformed as regards the farm bureau, and as friendly, indifferent, critical, or opposed. Any gradations from these were listed under the dominant attitude.

Of the 1,002 farmers interviewed, 42.4 per cent proved to be members, of whom 61 per cent were owners; 27.5 per cent had been members formerly but were not now members, of whom 50.3 per cent were owners, and 30 per cent never were members, of whom 62 per cent were tenants. The proportion of owners and tenants is notably reversed as between present members and never members. Of the total, 51 per cent were owners—the 1925 agricultural census shows 56 per cent owners in these 30 counties.

Of all farmers interviewed, 47 per cent were friendly toward the farm bu-

reau; 38.5 per cent were indifferent; 12 per cent were critical, and 2.5 per cent were opposed. Sixty-nine per cent were informed as regards the farm bureau, whereas 70 per cent either are or had been members.

The distribution of attitudes varies significantly with membership (see Tables I and II). The highest attitude percentage is 87.3, constituting those friendly among all present members. Next comes the percentage of indifferent,

TABLE I
NUMERICAL DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES TOWARD THE
COUNTY FARM BUREAU AMONG ALL FARMERS
ACCORDING TO MEMBERSHIP

Attitudes	Total	Members	Former Members	Never Members
Friendly.....	471	371	44	56
Indifferent.....	386	26	156	204
Critical.....	120	28	66	26
Opposed.....	25	.....	10	15
Totals.....	1,002	425	276	301

TABLE II
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES TOWARD THE
COUNTY FARM BUREAU AMONG ALL FARMERS
ACCORDING TO MEMBERSHIP

Attitudes	Total	Members	Former Members	Never Members
Friendly.....	47.0	87.3	16.0	18.6
Indifferent.....	38.5	6.1	56.5	67.8
Critical.....	12.0	6.6	23.9	8.6
Opposed.....	2.5	.....	3.6	5.0
Totals.....	100	100	100	100

being largest among the never members, 67.8, or more than two-thirds of these, and among the former members, 56.5, or more than half of these. The fourth attitude ranking is that of the critical among the former members, comprising 23.9 per cent, or nearly one-quarter of these. Those opposed to the farm bureau were not found among the present members, but primarily among the never members, 5 per cent, and secondarily among the former members, 3.6 per cent.

Further light is thrown on these attitudes by contrasting their distribution among all farmers and among all membership classes in accordance with whether or not the farmers as individuals were informed as regards the farm bureau (see Tables III and IV). The percentage friendly among all informed farmers is 64.3, or nearly two-thirds as contrasted with somewhat less than half, 47 per cent, among all farmers regardless of whether or not they were

TABLE III
NUMERICAL DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES TOWARD THE COUNTY FARM
BUREAU AMONG ALL FARMERS ACCORDING TO
MEMBERSHIP AND INFORMATION

Attitudes	Total	Members	Former Members	Never Members
Informed				
Friendly.....	444	365	42	37
Indifferent.....	134	19	70	45
Critical.....	103	28	57	18
Opposed.....	10	.....	8	2
Totals.....	691	412	177	102
Uninformed				
Friendly.....	27	6	2	19
Indifferent.....	252	7	86	159
Critical.....	19	.....	9	8
Opposed.....	15	.....	2	13
Totals.....	311	13	99	199
All totals.....	1,002	425	276	301

TABLE IV
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES TOWARD THE COUNTY
FARM BUREAU AMONG ALL FARMERS ACCORDING TO
MEMBERSHIP AND INFORMATION

Attitudes	Total	Members	Former Members	Never Members
Informed				
Friendly.....	64.3	88.6	23.7	36.3
Indifferent.....	19.4	4.6	39.6	44.1
Critical.....	14.9	6.8	32.2	17.6
Opposed.....	1.4	.....	4.5	2.0
	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)
Uninformed				
Friendly.....	8.7	46.0	2.0	9.5
Indifferent.....	81.0	54.0	86.9	80.0
Critical.....	5.5	.....	9.1	4.0
Opposed.....	4.8	.....	2.0	6.5
	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)

informed. Strikingly also, 81 per cent of all uninformed farmers were indifferent, or four-fifths, as contrasted with not quite two-fifths, 38.5 per cent, among all farmers regardless of information. The percentage critical predominates among the informed, and the percentage opposed among the uninformed.

Only 3 per cent of the present members were uninformed, while of the informed 88.6 per cent were friendly. This is the highest attitude percentage revealed in the thus classified groups of this study, and the largest numerical class, comprising more than one-third, 36.4 per cent of the total number interviewed.

Thirty-six per cent, or more than one-third of the former members were uninformed, and of these 86.9 per cent, or nearly nine-tenths, were indifferent. It will also be noted that among the informed former members the indifferent and critical each outnumber the friendly, the last constituting less than one-fourth, 23.7 per cent, whereas the indifferent comprise two-fifths, 39.6 per cent, and the critical one-third, 32.2 per cent, of this class. Here, however, the percentage opposed is twice as high among the informed as among the uninformed.

The percentage of the informed and uninformed among the never members is virtually the reverse of that among the former members. Whereas fully a third, 36 per cent, were uninformed among the latter, only a third, 33.8 per cent, were informed among the never members. Of the uninformed two-thirds among these never members four-fifths are indifferent. These indifferent uninformed among the never members comprise the second largest numerical class next to the friendly informed among present members, and constitute 15.8 per cent of the total number interviewed. The indifferent also constitute the largest percentage, 44 per cent, of the never members who are informed, although the friendly in this group are second with well over a third, 36.3 per cent. The percentage critical is four times as high among the informed of this membership class as among the uninformed, but the percentage opposed is three times higher among the uninformed.

The excess of the informed critical over the uninformed critical in both membership classes of former and never members is virtually the same or four times as great, although, significantly, the highest percentage of the critical is seen among the informed former-member group comprising one-third of these. The proportion of opposed, however, predominates among the uninformed of the never-member class, comprising 6.5 per cent of these.

Of the informed present members, constituting 97 per cent of all present members, 62 per cent were owners, although the percentage friendly among these present members was virtually the same as between owners and tenants. The percentage of indifferent was slightly higher among tenants and that of the critical among owners (see Tables V and VI).

Of all former members 50.3 per cent were owners. Of the informed former members, constituting 64 per cent of all former members, 51.4 per cent were owners. Here again the percentage friendly of both owners and tenants was virtually the same, or about a quarter, as was also the percentage critical,

or about a third. There was, however, a higher percentage of indifferent among the tenants (see Tables VII and VIII).

Of the uninformed former members practically half, 49.5 per cent, were owners. None of the tenants of this group were listed as friendly, although

TABLE V
NUMERICAL DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES TOWARD THE COUNTY
FARM BUREAU AMONG PRESENT MEMBERS ACCORDING
TO INFORMATION AND TENURE

Attitudes	Total	Owners	Tenants
Informed			
Friendly.....	365	226	139
Indifferent.....	19	11	8
Critical.....	28	19	9
Totals.....	412	256	156
Uninformed			
Friendly.....	6	2	4
Indifferent.....	7	2	5
Totals.....	13	4	9
All totals.....	425	260	165

TABLE VI
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES TOWARD THE COUNTY
FARM BUREAU AMONG PRESENT MEMBERS ACCORDING
TO INFORMATION AND TENURE

Attitudes	Total	Owners	Tenants
Informed			
Friendly.....	88.6	88.3	89.1
Indifferent.....	4.6	4.3	5.1
Critical.....	6.8	7.4	5.8
	(100)	(100)	(100)
Uninformed			
Friendly.....	46	50	44.4
Indifferent.....	54	50	55.6
	(100)	(100)	(100)

TABLE VII

NUMERICAL DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES TOWARD THE COUNTY
FARM BUREAU AMONG FORMER MEMBERS ACCORDING
TO INFORMATION AND TENURE

Attitudes	Total	Owners	Tenants
Informed			
Friendly.....	42	22	20
Indifferent.....	70	34	36
Critical.....	57	30	27
Opposed.....	8	5	3
Totals.....	177	91	86
Uninformed			
Friendly.....	2	2	.....
Indifferent.....	86	40	46
Critical.....	9	5	4
Opposed.....	2	1	1
Totals.....	99	48	51
All totals.....	276	130	137

TABLE VIII

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES TOWARD THE COUNTY
FARM BUREAU AMONG FORMER MEMBERS ACCORDING
TO INFORMATION AND TENURE

Attitudes	Total	Owners	Tenants
Informed			
Friendly.....	23.7	24.2	23.3
Indifferent.....	39.6	37.4	41.9
Critical.....	32.2	32.9	31.4
Opposed.....	4.5 (100)	5.5 (100)	3.4 (100)
Uninformed			
Friendly.....	2.0	4.2	.....
Indifferent.....	86.9	83.3	90.2
Critical.....	9.1	10.4	7.8
Opposed.....	2.0 (100)	2.1 (100)	2.0 (100)

4.2 per cent of the owners were so characterized. Also a larger percentage of the tenants of this group were indifferent. The percentage critical was larger among the owners, although the absolute number was but one individual more (see Tables VII and VIII).

Only among the never members does the percentage of tenants exceed that of owners, comprising 62.4 per cent of the total. Of the informed never members, constituting one-third of the total, 52.9 per cent were tenants, and of the uninformed 67.3 per cent. In this class a much higher percentage of both informed and uninformed tenants expressed themselves as friendly than did owners, and the owners contained a higher percentage of the critical and opposed in both groups. The percentage of the indifferent, however, was higher among informed owners than among informed tenants, and among uninformed tenants than among uninformed owners. In the first instance the absolute difference was but one individual. In the second instance, however, the absolute number of the indifferent uninformed tenants was more than twice as great as that of the indifferent uninformed owners (see Tables IX and X).

In conclusion it will thus be observed that when information is taken into consideration the largest numerical class is that of the friendly informed among all present members, comprising more than one-third, 36.4 per cent, of the total number interviewed and 86.8 per cent of all present members. The percentage friendly in this informed group was virtually the same proportionately as between owners and tenants, or a total of 88.6 per cent.

The second largest numerical class is that of the indifferent uninformed among the never members, comprising 15.8 per cent of the total number interviewed and 52.8 per cent of all never members. The tenants here are more than twice the number of the owners, with a total indifferent in this uninformed group of 80 per cent.

The third largest numerical ranking is the indifferent uninformed among the former members, comprising 8.5 per cent of the total interviewed and 31 per cent of all former members. The tenants here also constitute proportionately the greater percentage of the indifferent.

Listed in numerical order the next six rankings all fall among the informed groups in each case. They are in their order: the indifferent among the former members comprising 25 per cent of all former members; the critical among the former members, comprising 20.6 per cent of all former members; the indifferent among the never members, comprising 14.9 per cent of all never members; the friendly among former members; the friendly among never members, and the critical among the present members, comprising but 2.7 per cent of the total number interviewed and but 6.6 per cent of all present members.

The chief reason for discontinuance among the farmers who had at one time or another discontinued their membership—comprising the 276 former members and 31 present members who had rejoined chiefly through the pressure of neighbor members—was that they did not see the value of the farm bureau. Forty-eight per cent, or nearly half, stated this as the essential reason,

TABLE IX

NUMERICAL DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES TOWARD THE COUNTY
FARM BUREAU AMONG NEVER MEMBERS ACCORDING
TO INFORMATION AND TENURE

Attitudes	Total	Owners	Tenants
Informed			
Friendly.....	37	15	22
Indifferent.....	45	23	22
Critical.....	18	9	9
Opposed.....	2	1	1
	102	48	54
Uninformed			
Totals.....			
Friendly.....	19	2	17
Indifferent.....	159	50	109
Critical.....	8	3	5
Opposed.....	13	10	3
Totals.....	199	65	134
All totals.....	301	113	188

TABLE X

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES TOWARD THE COUNTY
FARM BUREAU AMONG NEVER MEMBERS ACCORDING
TO INFORMATION AND TENURE

Attitudes	Total	Owners	Tenants
Informal			
Friendly.....	36.3	31.2	40.7
Indifferent.....	44.1	48.0	40.7
Critical.....	17.6	18.8	16.7
Opposed.....	2.0	2.0	1.9
	(100)	(100)	(100)
Uninformed			
Friendly.....	9.5	3.1	12.7
Indifferent.....	80.0	76.9	81.4
Critical.....	4.0	4.6	3.7
Opposed.....	6.5	15.4	2.2
	(100)	(100)	(100)

although it was not necessarily the sole reason in each case. Fourteen per cent stated that they discontinued because they could not afford it, here again not necessarily the sole cause. The third significant reason for discontinuance mentioned in 12.7 per cent of the cases was neglect, discrimination, or special mistreatment on the part of the farm adviser or bureau. A fourth major reason for discontinuance was closely allied to the first but was expressed more particularly as "not getting enough out of it for what it costs." This was given as a reason by 7.5 per cent. A fifth reason, expressed by 6 per cent, was because they had discontinued farming actively. Several discontinued membership because their landlords would not co-operate with them or join, or because they saw no advantage in it for a renter.

The most striking opposition statement to the farm bureau was on the part of a former member, an owner, who was opposed to the bureau because he claimed it made fools of the farmer politically, that it was only a salary job for some, that the farm adviser was not a practical farmer, that it had taught the farmers that they could produce crops regardless of prices and profits, and that it had done farmers the most harm next to crop failures. On the whole he thought the bureau arouses rather than alleviates discontent.

As with that of discontinuance, the outstanding reason for never having joined the farm bureau was that the individual farmer in question did not see its value. This was given as a reason by 50 per cent. As also with those who had discontinued, the second chief reason for not joining was that they could not afford it. This was given as a reason by 28 per cent. The third outstanding reason was that they had never been solicited, which is akin to the neglect and discrimination or favoritism mentioned as the third outstanding reason for discontinuance. Practically 22 per cent gave this as one reason although not necessarily the sole one. A number, practically 8 per cent, felt that they had not been farming enough to pay, either in size of farm or length of time farming. Some were retiring or expected to leave the farm.

What was considered in each case as the most helpful activity of the farm bureau was given by individual farmers regardless of their affiliation with the bureau. Inasmuch as not every farmer felt competent to express himself upon this phase, and as the order of the activities designated is the essential information desired, the results have not been recorded in percentages of a total although the far greater number of farmers did express themselves on this point and in not a significantly different way as to tenure.

By far the most helpful activity of all as indicated, and this in 151 instances, was the mere fact of the organization of farmers. Eighty of these cases stressed the influence of the organization on legislation, state and national, through the Illinois Agricultural Association and the American Farm Bureau Federation, whereas 71 emphasized the local co-operation of farmers as an occupational unit. In every case, however, organization was the keyword expressed.

Second in importance, as stated in 84 cases, was the farm bureau's em-

phasis upon soil improvement and conservation, including the use of limestone, rock phosphate, sweet clover, crop rotations, and the like. The third, as expressed in 73 instances, was co-operative marketing as seen in the organization of shipping associations. The fourth most helpful activity, expressed in 67 instances, was that of giving out information on agricultural practices as desired—promoting improved practices in agriculture, the educational phase. Efforts and accomplishments regarding tax adjustments was stated as the fifth in order, 52 farmers expressing this view.

Next in their order of importance were co-operative buying, including the purchasing of limestone, seeds, hog serum, potatoes, and so on; hog vaccination; seed improvements; 4-H Club work; promoting the tuberculosis test for cattle, and the indirect influences on prices through the co-operative activities which tend to hold the prices of independents more in line.

By no means all the farmers had criticisms of the farm bureau to offer. However, an outstanding number of them did, and these may be classified as to types.

The most prevalent criticism was in regard to costs of operation. Fifty-eight expressed the opinion that the dues were too high. Twenty more thought that there should be some gradation in the dues paid, as between owner and tenant, and also in consideration of the size of farm and type of farming. Closely allied to the criticisms on costs as revealed in dues were those on expenses of operation apart from dues. Eighty-five expressed themselves on this score. These centered about the thought that the expenses as revealed in salaries and costs were too great for the benefits received and that those running the farm bureau were only in it for what they could get out of it, and not primarily for service to the farmer. -

Next in their order of importance were co-operative buying, including the ing on methods of operation. It was stated that the representatives of the organization oversold themselves and misrepresented the facts in order to get signatures only to increase the dissatisfaction. Seventeen thought that the wrong men were selected to run the bureau, men who couldn't succeed when farming for themselves. Objection was made to the policy of the farm bureau in taking in bankers and other townsmen. Two even felt that the farm adviser could not be a member of the Business Man's Club and work for farmers. A number expressed the view that there was too much service to non-members, that they benefited as well as members. On the other hand, one charter member said that the farm bureau ought to help non-members so as to make them feel better.

In significant contrast, however, to the criticism that the farm bureau should not align itself with town interests was the view expressed by several disapproving of the farm bureau undertaking subsidiary organizations such as co-operative shipping and purchasing associations which tended to foster antagonism between the bureau and merchants, seed men, trucksters, packers, and even the railroads. "Live and let live" should be the motto. Allied to this gen-

eral criticism were a number of statements expressing dissatisfaction with the United States Grain Growers failure, the wheat and red top pools, and with losses suffered in potato purchases. As many farmers, however, stressed the fact that the emphasis should be on improved marketing conditions through co-operatives, while at the same time objecting to the emphasis on mere production, i.e., on better farming as such.

The matter of information on farming came in for some criticism. Several stated that the same information was obtainable free from the university, from government reports, and from the farm press. Twenty expressed perturbation upon being misadvised relative to the best date for wheat sowing.

The matter of the duplication and conflict of interests between the farm bureau and other farmers' organizations was mentioned. Four volunteered that the farm bureau and the farmers' union should amalgamate their interests and not oppose one another. One farmer felt that the farm bureau was a duplication of the farmers' institute work, and although he is local secretary for the institute he favors its discontinuance in favor of the bureau, asserting that three-fourths of those attending the institute were farm bureau members.

Two comments recurred with sufficient regularity and uniformity as to be striking in themselves. One, recorded in 20 instances, was that farmers won't stick together and that they are the hardest group in the world to organize. The other was that the farm bureau would be a good thing if everybody joined, a statement volunteered in 31 instances by individuals regardless of their class of membership. However, in striking contrast to the first comment was the remark of an informed and successful middle-aged farmer who has had considerable experience with other organizations, particularly as a railroad telegrapher. He said that not only is the farm bureau the only salvation for farmers but that it is going ahead faster than any other organization in working for the interest of its members. An owner of several hundred acres started in with the idea of fighting the bureau because he thought other farmers' organizations had never got anywhere, but when he saw their program and budget he became a member of the executive board.

Finally, one member said that the farm bureau is the best thing we have got in the county. Another said that they couldn't do without it. A third emphasized the fact that the farm bureau was yet in its infancy; that it was misjudged at the present time, and that too much was expected of it. One can get much out of it, he said, especially as it evolves to better things.

Certain conclusions stand out from this study:

The farm bureau as functioning seems to be primarily an owner's organization, although it will be appreciated that owners as a class are in a position to lend more effective support and interest to rural organizations and institutions.

Many farmers are looking for direct money returns from the bureau, although failure to get benefits from the organization is occasionally given as the farmer's own fault for not going after them.

The prevalence of the disapprobation regarding costs and certain methods of operation of the bureau would seemingly warrant some modifications in practice.

The outstanding appreciation of the mere fact of the organization of farmers as revealed through the farm bureau's functioning would evidence the specific need of such an organization.

Yet the significant number of the uninformed and indifferent would justify some campaign of education as to the work and objectives of the farm bureau.

METHODS OF STUDYING PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL AND URBAN GROUPS

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ABSTRACT

Can sociology and psychology furnish us any objective, scientific bases for conceiving of and measuring personality growth under the influence of urban and rural groups? If so, what are these methods? First, we note the study of personality development on the basis of socialization, social contact, and personality expansion. The individual is viewed as a contactor with the different types of situations, persons, groups, and so on, which give balanced expansion to his various selves, musical, dramatic, intellectual, or religious. The group or institution is looked upon as the catalytic agent which begins the social-contact process. By classifying contacts with reference to the situation and stimulus-type and reducing them to hours, we can develop a quantitative formulation. Second, personality development is conceived of in terms of the formation of an adjustment process in which habit mechanisms are developed and behavior patterns formed. Personality is struggling to function efficiently in a complex civilization, and in so doing there must be working sociological devices for facing crisis, saving the ego, forming opinions, expressing impulses, stimulating latent selves, and maintaining drive. Using this method personality development is individually rated according to the rôles which the person has enacted and the personality functions for which he has developed effective behavior patterns. The group in the latter case becomes the selector of the various types of behavior patterns.

Only recently have we shifted our approach to the study of personality to the sociological point of view and so made it a more truly objective study. By far the greater majority of students of personality have worked from within to without on the basis of some inner, determining principle, whether that be chromosomes, instincts, inborn traits, pituitary glands, intelligence quotients, or recapitulations of race psychology. The search for this inner and established determinant of personality has led in many and devious directions. Lombroso linked at least one type of personality, the criminal, with certain physical stigmas indicating an approximation to primitive anthropological types. Others have sought for personality traits in hormones and chromosomes. Still others have developed a set of instincts belonging to the "specie human" and involved in the "original nature" of man. Intelligence, in some respects, can be rated by objective performance tests, but is not intelligence only a help to the achievement of personality? That it is not even a guaranty of personality has been demonstrated every day in our criminal courts and colleges. There can be little doubt that much of this endeavor to study personality as an unfolding, recapitulating thing with enough "stored power" to follow its course despite environmental influences was encouraged by the success of such methods in the plant, animal, and subhuman world. Knowing the species of a duck or wasp it

would be possible to predict the type of behavior pattern which it would have to follow. Studies in animal and insect behavior clearly indicate a powerful, inherited mechanism, quite definitely developing habits, whether pertaining to fighting, eating, nest building, or reproduction.

But, human personality is revealing itself as too unstable, modifiable, and complex a thing to be factored into the terms of glands, chromosomes, or I.Q.'s. If some reliable indicator of personality could be found, such as handwriting, finger prints, or receding skulls, personality study would be much simplified. The most that these surface indicators can accomplish is to detect certain tendencies or traits. But personality is more than a static bundle of traits subjectively judged by casual observers with biases. Personality is a set of processes and functions varying from time to time and from situation to situation. Furthermore, personality is a multiple thing. Individuals may have several personalities each with its set of traits. Judgments upon the behavior traits of a man in the church pew might be very misleading as to his behavior on the golf links or at the family table. A personality is a sociological biography including defeats, crises, repressions, contacts, expressions, and adjustments. It is, at least for a considerable number of years, in a state of flux greatly modified by social experience. For such reasons personality must be functionally and synthetically studied, and the approach must be multiple. For the same reasons no personality analysis is adequate without a case-history, often dating back to childhood, developed by trained psychologists and sociologists. And manifestly such a biography of the contacts, impressions, expressions, and adjustments will set up the personality as a dynamic, functioning process in a changing social environment. Aristotle maintained that a tree could not be understood as it stood at any one time, but only as a telic, evolving process, the summation of its states as it advanced from seed to aged freedom. Today, we are following the philosophy of Aristotle in personality study, namely, that we cannot know human personality in a still picture at any particular moment or as a bundle of so-called traits subjectively evaluated by an external observer. We can only know personality as it functions from time to time in a multiplicity of sociological situations, and as it develops habit mechanisms to meet these situations. If there is a personality other than this functioning one, then it belongs to the indeterminate and unknown.

One of the first problems in developing scientific methods for personality study is to reduce these significant processes, behaviors, and functions to such terms and formulations that more accurate and objective methods of observation can be used. This has been the procedure of all physical sciences. As soon as we have translated the psychosocial processes by which personality develops from general, subjective language into specific, objective terminology, we can then proceed to evolve more accurate unbiased descriptions of human behavior, then to develop norms, standards, and measures. For without some measuring stick more or less independent of subjective bias it will be quite impossible to compare scientifically the personality-building power of one group or organiza-

tion with another. Boy Scout, Y.M.C.A., Sunday school, and other organizations, all lay claim to a set of "character values"—many intangible, subjective, and traditional—and thereby lay claim upon the community's money and time. Without measures of their personality-building power, that are objective and scientific enough to pass beyond opinion and bias, we must abandon budgeting and financing of such work to propaganda and sentiment.

It naturally follows that another problem in personality study is to decide upon what is typical and significant performance. Is the behavior of the college student with reference to reading books and attending lectures typical of his personality and *prima facie* evidence that the student is intellectually motivated? Such performance may be done under coercion, and so may not be or even become a permanent, indicative part of the personality pattern. Perhaps the same holds true for the perfunctory politeness and affability shown at formal receptions. Is the personality revealed in a person's walk, dress, handwriting, dancing, or social mannerisms? But, such situations are too trivial and limited to present opportunity for the revelation of perhaps the most vital and significant personality powers. The lay mind is continually seeking for some type of behavior that can be easily observed and by which personality can be classified. The executive or personnel manager is also interested in "snap" personality tests which can be made in a few minutes. Such superficial and inadequate methods, while spectacular, have, to a large degree, brought personality-testing into bad repute. All personality study is yet in the experimental stage, where we are only beginning to "try out" different programs of personality measurement, and there is no *one* method of evaluating the personal characteristics of a human being.

Finally, there is a more subtle and difficult problem which confronts the student of personality development, and that is the definition or philosophy of personality growth, for, to a large extent, our measures and standards depend upon our conceptions of significant personality processes. What is a full life? What is the "key" philosophy to understanding human beings as achievers of personality? To what extent is the personality process socialization and social contact? To what extent is it the socialized release of basic biologic impulses? Is this process principally one of an ecology of existence under a particular environment? Or is it the proper social adjustment of such functions as saving ego, of facing reality, forming opinions, associating with individuals and groups, stimulation, and recreation? Can the personality process be regarded as merely the development of human traits and altruistic motivations? Or can it be the formal attainment of a set of behavior patterns which are conventionalized by the group? As much as possible our plan of personality study should avoid metaphysical and ethical implications by making specific observations of actual life and making a synthetic objective approach.

It is a mistake to believe that these personality processes differ to any marked degree among different races or peoples or in country or city. The process of making a human being is much the same the world over, the

only real difference being in the proportioning and speed of the different personality-building factors. If sociology had taken a more personal and individual turn rather than a more general and institutional angle, we should not have a dozen or more sociologies today, but one. Certainly, it would be far-fetched and unscientific to develop one blood test or one mentality test for ruralites and another for urbanites.

It would be equally superfluous to develop separate mentality or personality measures for country and city. It is interesting to note that our studies of rural life have lost sight of the individual personality in their emphasis upon neighborhood, institution, and community, while urban sociology has in certain respects neglected the institution and community in its attention to the individual. In the country there tends to be an exaltation of the group and institution, for here we find such primary group life as family and neighborhood in a robust condition. Our case-study has generally worked with organizations, institutions, and families as units. On the other hand in the city primary group life of the traditional form has passed out of the center of the picture. The individual has been exalted as the subject of the case-study par excellence. Urban sociology developing among case workers of all types will naturally reflect a decided individualism in its spirit and methodology. Since the individual person in his struggle to function sociologically in a shifting urban civilization must develop a considerable variety of social behavior any sociology that works from the individual angle must necessarily develop a more direct and personal relation with the individual. A sociology of personality must develop as a guide to welfare work and case-study. As rural communities develop character-building and case-working agencies upon a more professional and specialized basis, we shall doubtless see a more personalized trend to rural sociology. Both urban and rural sociology will discover that their great problem is to utilize the power of their environments and groups in the task of personality-building, for with the increase of leisure time and the reduction of the energy required for economic existence, an ambitious program of socialization and culturization can be undertaken. And in this discovery both sociologies will be confronted with measuring and testing the personality process in its various ramifications.

As we enter the discussion of methodologies of studying personality development in urban and rural groups, it should be well understood that our work is in the stage of experimenting with and testing methods rather than in the stage of elaborate treatment of discoveries about human personality by such methods. The methods of personality study which are set forth have all been used, but only upon a sufficient scale to test their applicability, economy, and possible scientific value. Only sufficient data will be introduced to illustrate the methodology of each type of personality study.

Our first method is what might be termed the social contact plan. This device of personality study is based upon an expansion or centrifugal viewpoint of personality involving the following concepts:

1. That personality passes out into, is enlarged, and identified by the things it contacts with. Thus, pets, groups, friends, books, songs, philosophies, tools, etc., become a part of the expanded self.

2. That the isolation from all social contacts results in stunted personality with many antisocial traits. Stimulating social contacts are as vital to the growing personality as vitamins are to the growing body. A personality, like a photographic film, is a blank until it is exposed to numerous and diverse social situations.

3. Individuals are the receivers of contacts, groups and institutions the creators of the contact situations.

A number of units are possible in the social-contact equation. Ordinarily, the contact situation or event with the personal exposure is used. This makes it possible to evaluate personality development as so many exposures to so many social situations per year, the implication being that the highly socialized personality will show a larger number of stimulating, culturizing contacts. These data may be gathered by having the individual keep a diary of daily contacts or check off a list of situations and events with the number of exposures during a specified period.

Contacts may be classified as to quality or as to situation. Thus a contact with a sermon, musical program, or book of good quality would be marked "A" while those with situations of mediocre or inferior quality would be labeled "B" and "C."

This method may be applied to groups, organizations, institutions, and communities by regarding them as producers or creators of situations in which a certain number of individuals have contact with during a definite time period.

This method was used to study socialization in both rural and urban groups. Thus it was found that the better class of farmer and town business man had more than 700 annual contacts. Country school children had 471, and town children had 531. From 25 to 35 per cent of these contacts were of the A type. Some organizations developed as low as 200 annual contacts while others developed as high as 13,200 contacts. Girl Reserve groups in Akron developed around 125 social contacts, with more than 90 per cent of the A type. The social contact method was used to study the character-building work of such Akron agencies as the Girl Scouts, Y.W.C.A., Y.M.C.A., Boy Scouts, Sunday schools, and Association for Colored Community Work. More than 2,600 boys and girls of school age were included, the non-organization children being used as a check group. A few brief citations will indicate the trends. Thus, 70.7 per cent of the Girl Scouts made a good showing in religious contacts, while 60.3 per cent of all girls surveyed made this same showing. In contacts of the more social or convivial character, 64.9 per cent of the Girl Scouts made a good record as compared with 52 for all girls. It was also noted that 71 per cent of the 355 Boy Scouts studied made a fair to good showing in social contacts as compared with 510 per cent of the non-Boy Scouts. In our study of Negro children it was indicated that 53.6 per cent had from 40 to 120 annual contacts

with religious meetings other than Sunday school while 35.4 per cent of all children equaled this record. In contacts with such events as parties, picnics, dances, and clubs the Negro children exceed the check group by 20 per cent. Approximately 10.5 per cent of the Negro children and 9.5 per cent of the check group had from 200 to 300 annual contacts with the motion pictures. Social-contact studies of the modern urban child indicate a tremendous dilution of contacts, a rise in quantity but a fall in quality. Such would indicate overstimulation, with resulting precocity, sophistication, and nervous instability. A too rapid extension of personality without time for stabilization and organization of contacts gives us a thin, superficial, and disorganized personality. Only a corresponding rise in expressional life with careful social adjustments can insure stable character in this age of precocious stimulation.

The social contact method is a rougher, more general type of test for personality development. It is quite easily applied and tabulated. It serves to make rough divisions of population into the lower and higher levels of socialization, to determine the type of social starvation, and to detect the deficiencies in the social contacts vital to normal personality expansion. Furthermore, it acts as a sort of dynamometer to test the sociological power of clubs, organizations, and committees. The intensivity or extensivity of social contact also gives some indication as to the development of primary group life within any particular area. Akron thus shows considerable variation in the different social areas with respect to the number and type of social contacts. Finally, it may be used to determine the speed with which various racial groups are being assimilated. By calculating the proportion of social contacts of the "in-group" and "out-group" character in first, second, and third generations of European nationalities the progress of the race in reducing social distance is indicated.

Our second method of studying personality development is what might be termed the impressional-expressional. Psychic life in the individual is factored into impressions and expressions during a certain period of time. The events with the type of impression or expression serve as units and devices for classification. By computing the variety and number of impressions which an individual has had from books, music, art, lectures, trips, programs, and so forth, we gain an idea as to the stimuli which tend to set the personality into motion. This calculation very closely resembles the social-contact method in its preliminary calculations. In fact one can easily be translated into the other. However, the impressional evaluation goes into more detail and involved classifications. It also sets up norms and index numbers. Furthermore, it is used in conjunction with the expressional calculation. This type of personality analysis does not stop with studying the individual as a receiver of stimuli and contacts, but investigates the extent to which such stimuli react in a motor form. Personalities are actors, "sending stations," and dynamic agents. Without expression the impulses touched off by impression are blocked with the resultant repressed personality. Without expression, the latent selves, musical, intellectual, religious, and sportive are submerged. Without expression, life be-

comes stagnant and the finest urges lost through lack of fixation. Too great a number of impressions without a corresponding development of expressions may result in an introverted and psychopathic personality. Groups, institutions, and agencies should furnish occasions for expression as well as social contact, and should be measured as to the number of expressions and talent-utilizations which they develop in a year's time or with a definite investment of time and hours. Impressional events may be classified as to the part of the self which they stimulate, intellectual, religious, musical, social, and sportive. Expressional events or situations may be classified as to the talent or urge which they release and develop, whether this be musical, dramatic, athletic, oratorical, constructional, intellectual, or economic. A certain number of impressional or expressional events of each type may be considered as a "norm" or median for the group and be given value of 100. This makes it possible to assign index numbers to each individual showing whether he is below or above par in the various aspects of his impressional and expressional life.

A few citations from research data will serve to illustrate the practical application of this method. Thus, the children from a group of farm tenants ran 96, 70, 73, 81, 96, in Type A, B, C, D, and E impressions, and 119, 505, 66, 105, 54, 92, 159, 52, 50, 114, 1, 2, and 80 in Type A, C, O, D, M, L, I, T, R, G, E, W, and B expressions. The corresponding ratings for the children of farm owners were 103, 107, 88, 133, and 127 for impressions, and 332, 53, 58, 17, 131, 123, 39, 77, 135, 191, 42, 108, and 51 for expressions. One community with 173 talented persons furnished 1,564 opportunities to individuals for the expression of their talent, an average of 9 for each individual. Another community averaged 6.2. The neglect of the amateur was indicated. This impressional-expressional method was also used in the research work of the Better Akron Federation to study the character-building work of its various agencies. By arrangement with the superintendent of schools tests were assigned to thirty-seven principals who gave them to children in the seventh to twelfth grades. Over 2,800 tests were sent out. It was found that 24 per cent of the Girl Scouts ranked in the superior expressional class as compared to 18.4 per cent of all girls surveyed. It was noted that 18.3 per cent of the Girl Scouts were in the 250-550 impressional class as compared to 13.5 per cent for all girls studied. The strongest expressional influence was noted in the dramatic, oratorical, and athletic activities. A personality or sociological rating was made upon the basis of a development of an "all-round" impressional-expressional life of richness in character-building elements. The children were divided into A, B, and C groups. It was found that 38.1 per cent of the Girl Scouts made the A and B groups as compared to 21.9 per cent for all girls tested. It should be stated at this point that both Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts showed a very slight tendency to select into certain occupational and social strata, and that when the factor of intelligence selection was compensated, the comparative tests were not materially changed for the two groups. It has been observed that children of low I.Q. may often show a relatively high impressional test

since they will often expose themselves to many socializing situations as a defense and ego mechanism. But rarely or ever will these children show a high expressional rating. Most of their expressions tend to be in the fields of athletics and constructional work. A study of cases of juvenile delinquency indicated a poor expressional test, tending to show that repression and lack of adequate release of impulses is a contributing factor to juvenile criminality. If parents and schools could develop a superior expressional life in boys and girls, we should materially reduce the amount of delinquency. It is also noted in a study of problem children that the introvert has a low expressional test, usually less than 100 annual expressional events. Expression seems to be more indicative of personality than impression.

The impressional-expressional test is not difficult to give, but requires considerable work in tabulation. It probably goes farther into significant personality behavior than the social-contact method. More complete classifications of personality can be made with it. It furnishes a direct guide to the program of character-building agencies, since impressions and expressions are things which organizations can manipulate. Through it, they can visualize their work in more or less concrete and graphical form. However, impression and expression are only two out of many personality functions, processes, and adjustments, although, in many personality cases they are the processes which need most adjustment. It should never be forgotten that personality is a complex of processes in constant variation over considerable periods of time.

Our third method is what might be termed the functional or adjustment analysis. It conceives of personality as a functioning affair developing many different types of adjustment-mechanisms and devices. The impressional-expressional test will fit into this system, indicating a set of devices more inclusive. In order to function properly and survive under its existing environment a plant must develop effective mechanism for feeding, transpiring, photosynthesizing, etc. In order to function effectively in its environment, a personality must develop mechanisms for facing reality, saving the ego, forming opinions, sociability, stimulation, recreation, and expression. Human life in country or city is a process of continual experimentation with habit mechanisms for releasing personality, for developing a complete and happy existence. The finest type of machine whether automobile, watch, or radio is in constant need of adjustment if it is to perform efficaciously. The maladjustment or malfunctioning of the human personality in urban or rural environment produces divorce, delinquency, poverty, introvertism, and psychopathic mentality.

Our unit in this method is the habit mechanism. Each person is conceived as developing several series of more or less permanent habit mechanisms for functioning in our socio-economic order, for meeting the various situations necessary in the struggle for psychic survival under their ecological environments. In practice, we have used two classification schemes for habit mechanisms. The first classification is based upon a group of personality processes whose malfunctioning usually results in pathological and psychopathic disor-

ders: (1) opinion forming. Malfunctioning means mental complexes, narrow-and-closed mindedness, and intolerance. (2) Reality facing. Malfunctioning means introvertism and moral flabbiness, illusion, and fear psychoses. (3) Ego saving. Malfunctioning means inferiority complexes, fanaticism, ego-mania, bigotry, and egotism. (4) Recreating self. Malfunctioning means loss of drive and enthusiasm, cynicism, indifference, and inertia. (5) Forming fellowships. Malfunctioning means snobbishness, intolerance, solitarism, and social starvation. (6) Impressing and stimulating self. Malfunctioning means superficiality, lack of drive, and personality stagnation. (7) Expressing and releasing impulses. Malfunctioning means repression psychoses, introvertism, and talent immobility.

To test these functions a case-study was made of individuals with reference to 359 habit mechanisms which relate to these seven functions or processes. Thus such habit mechanisms as reading editorial columns, gathering magazine clippings, consulting encyclopedias, and debating in conversation would belong to personality process No. 1, while such devices as seeking compliments, entering popularity contests, and recounting exploits would belong to the ego-saving process No. 3.

The second classification is based on the institutional functioning of the individual. Upon this basis habit mechanisms are classed as to whether they aid the functioning of the individual in his economic, religious, intellectual, artistic, recreational, philanthropic, and social life.

The functional or adjustment method of personality analysis is applied by developing a case-record of the individual as to the various habit mechanisms which he works with in his task of living in a complex and artificial civilization. In some instances, this record can be partly developed by the questionnaire, in which different habit mechanisms are checked off. In other cases, personal contact with a trained case worker is required. The method may be interpreted or evaluated in several ways: (1) the total number of functional mechanisms developed in each zone of adjustment; (2) the efficacy or adequacy of these adjustment mechanisms in each zone; (3) the rapidity with which the individual can develop adjustment mechanisms—in this the number of mechanisms are factored by time; (4) the extent to which a character-building agency can repress, modify, or introduce mechanisms of personality adjustment.

Several citations from some personality adjustment results secured by the use of this type of personality analysis on a small scale with adolescents will perhaps serve to illustrate its operation. The study of a group of twenty-two individuals from eighteen to twenty-six years of age, belonging to different urban occupations and organizations showed that the average number of adjustment mechanisms developed was as follows:

Out of 359 possible mechanisms, 117.9 were developed, giving practically a 3:1 ratio. The fields most deficient in adjustment mechanisms proved to be Nos. 7 (expression) and 3 (ego-saving). Space will not permit a discussion of the adequacy of these mechanisms as indicated by a case-study, but suffice it

to say that this group of apparently normal adolescents showed deficiencies in every field of adjustment. In many instances, they were so busy studying a formal and traditional curriculum, and securing "fact and information" education that they had neglected the "real" educational process, personality adjustment.

Name of Personality Process	Average Number of Adjustment Mechanisms Developed
1. Opinion forming	20.2
2. Facing reality and crisis	13.9
3. Saving the ego	13.1
4. Recreating self	10.5
5. Forming fellowships, sociability	17.8
6. Impression and stimulation	30.0
7. Expression and impulse release	12.4
Total	117.9

A study of one thousand boys and girls enrolled in such organizations as Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Y.M.C.A., and Y.W.C.A. is being made to determine the influence of such work in developing adjustment mechanisms.

The following results were obtained from Girl Reserves.

Aspect of the Individual's Life	Average Number of Functional Habit Mechanisms Developed Since Joining the Organization	Percentages of Possible Mechanisms
1. Economic	13.9	22.1
2. Religious	6.7	20.4
3. Intellectual and educational	24.3	16.9
4. Athletic, recreational, and health	7.1	7.6
5. Philanthropic	1.1	10.8
6. Social	3.7	8.5

It is indicated that this organization tends to develop its personality power in the fields 1, 2, and 3.

The functional or adjustment method of personality analysis is the most difficult to apply, since it often involves case-work. Furthermore, its results are more complicated and difficult of interpretation. However, it provides a more thorough analysis of personality growth than the social-contact or the impression-expression methods.

DISCUSSION OF PAPERS BY COOLEY, NELSON, AND BUTT, TYLOR, AND HAWTHORN

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I am sure that I voice the sentiments of the entire group assembled here when I say that we are very grateful to Dr. Cooley for lending his name and wisdom to a program of the rural sociologists. We appreciate his contributions to our ideas on methodology in research. I feel that Professor Cooley knows more about this subject than any of the rest of us. Furthermore, he has protected himself carefully by delimiting the object of research he proposes here to a "more adequate perception of life," and by carefully describing the weaknesses and pitfalls of this method of investigation. Nevertheless, I wish to make a few suggestions concerning this life-study method—which appears to me to be really the "typological" or pure "case" method such as originally used by Frederic Le Play in his family studies or by the economists in their studies of such phenomena as the "representative firm" as named by Alfred Marshall. I believe, and distinguished social scientists have pointed out, that different types of research take different types of minds. We are not all of the same type as Professor Cooley, F. Le Play, or Alfred Marshall. Neither can we all be as adept at handling the life-study, intuitive, typological, or case-method of study as these three. Further, a number of other factors must be considered. I believe that all problems have some elements which can be handled best by statistics, and others by the life-study method. I feel that age and experience within a given field of the investigator are factors. Younger men with less experience had better use the simpler, more mechanical statistical forms, and the older ones can broaden out into the intuitive method. I also think that some men are mentally constituted for one type of research and others for different types. Some of us will never make specialists in statistics and others will never be fitted for the life-study method. I think every man ought to find his own method or methods and follow them out. The real test is the result.

Again that portion of the paper of Professor Cooley concerning the use of creative imagination applies equally well to the life-study method as to the statistical, although naturally those with sufficient imagination to use the life-study method will use more creative imagination in finding results. Nevertheless, I can point out what seems to me to be an entire lack of creative imagination by some of the users of the life-study methods. Their works may result in tiresome descriptions of unique and localized phenomena sometimes without any general principles or results; and at others into conclusions which will not bear verification in other communities, other countries, or other times. Thus the yield is of little value. Again, there are many who have different

ideas as to the purpose of sociology. Those who attempt to use sociology merely as a tool for attempting to create material standards of living and culture in the country on the level with those in the city will find little use for anything but simple and mechanical statistics. Personally, I agree with Dr. Cooley as to the purposes of sociology, but I think there are many who do not. Last, I suggest that we need more imagination and creative work in all types of research concerning rural life. I believe that Dr. Cooley's earlier works have given him the right to make such a suggestion to us.

I have noted a few minor points which seem to be of interest concerning this very careful paper by Professor Nelson, which, as he has pointed out, deals almost entirely with objects of material culture such as bath tubs, phonographs, and the like. Any conclusions concerning material culture may or may not apply to the non-material culture of a group. In establishing such correlations as these, it seems to the reviewer that we should be very careful not to overestimate the significance of the material culture of a group to the neglect of the non-material culture. Farmer-peasant non-material culture may be of greater significance than their material culture, especially in the development of personality and standards of life, and it may have an entirely different set of relationships with formal education than the material culture. Further, these correlations between material culture and formal education may be incidental or spurious relationships and may have no causal or functional significance. Both may be aspects of the urbanization of society, which is proceeding so rapidly at the present moment, and both may be contingent upon a series of other circumstances. Neither has Professor Nelson standardized these relationships for age-groups, occupational groups, or size of income. He did not secure data as to size of income, but by cross-tabulation he could have removed the effects of the other variables. His original study for the Ephraim community presents data to show that the farmers have these objects of culture more often than the other groups; but in that case also his data are unstandardized. Whereas he does divide the groups at thirty years of age, yet the younger group does not show the same significant relationships between formal education and material culture. In so far as these standardizations might reduce the correlations, they would tend to reduce the significance of the relationships, even if it be granted that the contingencies are functional rather than incidental. It was once thought that crime and illiteracy were functionally related; but since then we have found different results. The intellectuals have been proclaiming the rise of the proletariat due to the increased educational opportunities; but the careful work of P. Sorokin, Fritz Maas, Fritz Giese, and others have shown that this class is not gaining upon the peasant class in its ability to produce great men and leaders. I suggest that these further considerations should make us very cautious concerning claims as to the great gains which may arise from the increased formal education of the rural classes or of society as a whole.

Like Professor Nelson, Dr. Tylor has also done an interesting and original

piece of work. He has proceeded to analyze the Illinois Farm Bureau from several very practical standpoints. Dr. Tylor's analysis enables him to go to the heart of some of the Illinois Farm Bureau organization problems. He very cautiously does not draw any conclusions concerning the relationships between tenure, as such, and membership. His appended tables to the first draft of the paper show that one of the primary differences between tenants and owners is the matter of information concerning the association. He has the problem of differences between vocal and overt attitudes, which will have to be solved later in his analysis. Doubtless he could add something to his study by the classification of these attitudes into a series from favorable to opposed and the use of technical methods of correlation; but, on the whole, this seems to be a valuable beginning study.

Dr. Hawthorn's stimulating paper deals with a series of three elaborate methods for studying the relationships between certain types of social organizations and the behavior or personalities of the individuals. It is evident that the results in terms of concrete conclusions which are tested by other means of investigation or by practical results are the main justification for the long continuance of any methods of research. It seems to the reviewer that Dr. Hawthorn is attempting to study social organization by measuring the influence of contact upon the individual. One wonders why most of his analysis is limited to secondary and relatively simple types of organization rather than the more primary and cumulative groups such as the family and the immediate neighborhood. We now have rather conclusive evidence that these primary and cumulative groups influence the personality most. Of course, Dr. Hawthorn states that he is limiting his analysis to the non-compulsory groups; but that statement in itself does not mean that the organizations he has studied are the most important or are of great significance in the control of personalities. As he points out in one place, his type of analysis shows its greatest weakness in the comparisons of personality development in rural and urban groups. Since urbanites are specialists in secondary contacts, and since heterogeneity, density, and size of community—all urban characteristics—are three of the greatest factors in the formation of secondary groups, this system of analysis naturally shows the ruralite as lower.

However, we are not entitled to argue from these results that rural children need any greater number of secondary contacts, or that their personalities are undeveloped. Careful researches have shown that the country environment is, on the whole, as good as the urban for the development of stable, strong, and socialized personalities, in spite of the fact that the cities include many of the upper and extremely intelligent families who surround their children with all that contemporary society can afford. These researches also show that much of this is due to the family and other cumulative groups in rural society, which appear to be omitted almost entirely from Dr. Hawthorn's system of analysis. These remarks are not suggested in criticism of the careful work by Dr. Hawthorn but in the hope that he will include these other types of organizations in his later analysis.

THE TEACHING OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

THE PRESENT CONTENT OF THE INTRODUCTORY COURSE IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY¹

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ABSTRACT

This paper is based on a questionnaire sent to all teachers of rural sociology in the United States. The paper will show the general content of the introductory course in rural sociology; how it is taught; what general and special subjects are being treated; special emphasis given to certain subjects; textbooks used; supplementary readings required; objectives of the course as stated by teachers, and the extent to which surveys, census reports, field trips, and current publications are used in teaching the course.

Closing his article on "The Teaching of Rural Sociology" in the *American Journal of Sociology* eleven years ago, Professor Dwight L. Sanderson said:

It may well be questioned whether we now have, or possibly whether we ever shall have a body of knowledge which may be termed the "principles of rural sociology"; but it is certain we are rapidly accumulating a considerable definite knowledge concerning rural social problems and their solution. . . . The boys' agricultural clubs have a motto, "Learn to do by doing." Probably we shall learn how to teach rural sociology in much the same way.

Your Committee on the Teaching of Rural Sociology undertook during the last year, at the suggestion of a number of rural sociologists, to learn for you what rural sociologists have been learning lately "by doing" in one particular field—shaping the content of the introductory course in rural sociology. Co-operating with Dr. Galpin's division, which furnished franked envelopes and mailing list, the Committee sent out a questionnaire to six hundred teachers of rural sociology in colleges, universities, and normal schools.

Data were tabulated from 122 questionnaires received by the committee: 65 from colleges and universities, 20 from land-grant colleges and universities, and 37 from normal schools and teachers' colleges. For purposes of some comparisons that will appear later this threefold classification of institutions was followed in tabulating data from the questionnaires.

The primary aim of the study was to learn as definitely as possible just what the content of the introductory course in rural sociology is as now taught in different institutions. Other questions were included in the questionnaire

¹ This study was made by the Committee on the Teaching of Rural Sociology in co-operation with Dr. C. J. Galpin, of the division of farm population and rural life, of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

only to throw light on the main question—the content of the introductory course.

Teachers were asked to state specifically the objectives of their introductory course. Of the 122 teachers answering the questionnaire, 117 gave one or more objectives. Altogether 16 different objectives were given, ranked in the following order:

Knowledge of rural life and problems	69
Preparation for rural leadership or vocation	40
To show how to solve rural problems	35
To develop appreciation and sympathy for farm life	33
To give students rural point of view	8
A means of teaching principles of sociology	7
To stimulate advanced study	4
To center attention on human factors in farm life	4
To focus attention on home community	2

Other objectives mentioned once each were: to discover the principles of social progress; to acquaint students with the literature of rural sociology; to demonstrate that social relationships can be studied scientifically; to show the relation between the rural community and the rural school; to develop better town-country relationships; to help develop Purnell investigations in rural life.

Courses in addition to the introductory course in rural sociology were reported in 35 institutions, 12 of these being land-grant colleges and universities. Seven institutions reported three additional courses, 7 two additional courses, and 21 one additional course. These additional courses occur in the following order:

Community organization	19
Advanced seminar or research	8
Rural social problems	5
Farmers' movements	3
Study of home state	2
Rural recreation	2
Rural leadership	2
Rural standard of living	2
Church and rural welfare	1
Town-country relations	1
Social surveys	1
Rural population	1
History of rural life	1

A list of 44 general topics usually treated in rural sociological texts and teachers' outlines were submitted in the questionnaire, and teachers were asked to check each one of these topics with respect to the degree of emphasis given the topic in the introductory course in their institutions. The questionnaire provided for checking each topic for one of five degrees of emphasis: (1) not touched, (2) slightly touched, (3) normal treatment, (4) some emphasis, or (5) special emphasis.

Every one of the 44 topics was checked as given special emphasis by from 3 to 54 teachers, the range being from 3 for rural art to 54 for the rural school. The order of the 12 topics most often checked as given *special emphasis* was as follows:

The rural school	54
Farm family and home	45
Socialization through contacts	40
Rural isolation and communication	39
The rural church	39
Rural leadership	36
Rural standards of living	33
Organizing the rural community	33
Rural health and sanitation	32
Special characteristics of rural society in the United States	32
Rural recreation	31
The rural neighborhood	28

If we combine the numbers checking for *some emphasis* and *special emphasis*, we find all topics checked from 15 times for rural art to 86 times for the rural school. The order in which the 14 subjects most often checked in this combination is as follows:

The rural school	86
Rural leadership	84
Farm family and home	82
Rural isolation and communication	82
Rural health and sanitation	81
Rural standards of living	74
Rural church	72
Special characteristics of rural society in the United States	69
Organizing the rural community	68
Town-country relations	66
Migrations of rural population	66
Socialization through contacts	66
Rural recreation	66

At the other extreme each of the 44 was checked as *not touched* from 1 to 24 times, the order for the 12 highest being as follows:

Farm management	24
Historical types of European communities	23
Rural art	22
Methods of rural investigation	21
Relation of rural sociology to other sciences	19
Land policies	17
Farmer in civilization	16
Agricultural production	15
Scope, field, development of rural sociology	14
Agricultural extension work	13
Rural social progress	13

Combined checkings for *not touched* and *slightly touched* show each topic checked from 5 times for rural schools to 76 times for historical types of European rural communities. The 12 highest appear in the following order:

Historical types of European rural communities	76
Relation of rural sociology to other sciences	69
Rural art	63
Land policies	58
Farm management	57
Agricultural extension work	56
Methods of rural investigation	56
Agricultural production	44
The farmer in civilization	44
Scope, field, development of rural sociology	42
Factors giving rise to rural sociology	42
The nature of human groups	41

The relatively small number of teachers in each of the three groups of institutions checking the questionnaire—65 for colleges and universities, 20 for land-grant colleges and universities, and 37 for normal schools—makes us cautious in comparing the percentages of teachers in each of the three groups checking for similar degrees of emphasis. However, percentage comparisons are given for the 8 highest ranking topics at the two extremes.

First, taking the 8 highest ranking topics, when checked for *some emphasis* and *special emphasis* are combined, we get percentage comparisons as follows:

Rural School

	Per Cent
Colleges and universities	87
Land-grant colleges and universities	60
Normal schools	80
Rural leadership	
Colleges and universities	66
Land-grant colleges and universities	81
Normal schools	80
Isolation and communication	
Colleges and universities	75
Land-grant colleges and universities	55
Normal schools	62
Rural health and sanitation	
Colleges and universities	62
Land-grant colleges and universities	55
Normal schools	84
Standards of living	
Colleges and universities	55
Land-grant colleges and universities	60
Normal schools	73

	Per Cent
Rural church	
Colleges and universities	62
Land-grant colleges and universities	50
Normal schools	54
Special characteristics of rural society in the United States	
Colleges and universities	64
Land-grant colleges and universities	60
Normal schools	43
Organizing the rural community	
Colleges and universities	56
Land-grant colleges and universities	50
Normal schools	46

Turning again to the other extreme and comparing percentages for combined checkings of *not touched* and *slightly touched* for the 8 highest ranking topics, we get the following results:

Historical types of European rural communities	Per Cent
Colleges and universities	64
Land-grant colleges and universities	73
Normal schools	63
Relation of rural sociology to other sciences	
Colleges and universities	46
Land-grant colleges and universities	50
Normal schools	61
Rural art	
Colleges and universities	60
Land-grant colleges and universities	53
Normal schools	51
Land policies	
Colleges and universities	48
Land-grant colleges and universities	47
Normal schools	48
Farm management	
Colleges and universities	56
Land-grant colleges and universities	63
Normal schools	30
Extension work	
Colleges and universities	50
Land-grant colleges and universities	40
Normal schools	67
Methods of investigation	
Colleges and universities	50
Land-grant colleges and universities	55
Normal schools	44
Agricultural production	
Colleges and universities	36
Land-grant colleges and universities	55
Normal schools	29

As receiving *normal treatment*, all topics were checked from 20 times for rural leadership to 56 times for rural mental traits (normal). Topics most often checked for normal treatment were as follows:

Rural mental traits	56
Farm wealth and income	55
The farmer and government	54
Scope, field, and development of rural sociology	53
Evolution of the rural community in the United States	50
Backward and antisocial classes	49
Land and land resources	48
Reading and the rural press	47
Farm labor	46
Physiographic influences and rural society	45
Nature of human groups	45
Rural libraries	44
Country village and town	44

Teachers were also asked to check topics which they thought did not properly belong in the introductory course in rural sociology as it should be given in their institutions. Every topic in the list was checked from 1 to 33 times. The order of 12 topics checked most often for omission was as follows:

Farm management	33
Agricultural production	22
Nature of human groups	21
Land policies	19
Methods of investigation	19
Land and land resources	17
Historical types of European communities	15
Relation of rural sociology to other sciences	14
Economic co-operative organizations	12
Rural church	12
Rural art	11
The farmer and civilization	10

Teachers were questioned whether the introductory course as outlined in our conventional texts was too extensive. Of the 98 teachers answering this question, 61 answered yes and 37 no. In the college-university group, 37 out of 53 answered yes, in the land-grant college-university group 9 out of 18 yes, and in the normal school group 15 out of 27 yes.

At a meeting of this section last year one of the speakers questioned the "validity of some of the main theories" contained in our textbooks in rural sociology, singling out six theories in particular, and stating that "many more of those present in these texts are dubious."² In the questionnaire sent out this year, teachers of the introductory course were asked to give their opinion as to the quality of the data now available on the 44 topics that have been referred to in this paper. They were asked to check each one of these topics with

² See *Proceedings of American Sociological Society* (1927), pp. 250-55.

respect to the quality of the data now available on that topic, whether the data were primarily (1) opinions of writers or (2) objective observations or (3) generalizations arrived at by quantitative measurements. You will, of course, recognize these three degrees as Karl Pearson's three stages in the development of a science.

Only 70 of the 122 teachers answering the questionnaire checked the columns for quality of data available on the different topics. A number of those who did answer did so with grumbling and misgivings. Some teachers who did check these columns did not check all the topics. Several who did check the columns asked that not much weight be given to their opinions. A few of the teachers checked single topics in two or three degrees, stating that they believed that available data on these topics fell into all three of the classes named. With these explanations the results of the checking of topics for quality of data available on them are given for what they are worth. The figures given for each topic are the total number of checkings for each topic, regardless of whether teachers checked single topics in one or two or three degrees, for quality of data available.

The order of the 12 topics receiving the largest number of checks as having quantitative and scientific data available is as follows:

Composition of rural population	62
Farm ownership and tenancy	58
Migrations of rural population	55
Rural health and sanitation	54
Agricultural production	53
Farm wealth and income	49
The rural school	48
Land and land resources	46
The rural church	39
Economic co-operative organizations	36
Agricultural extension work	36
Rural standards of living	33

Turning to the other extreme the order of the 12 topics whose data are regarded primarily as opinions of writers is as follows:

Relation of rural sociology to other sciences	42
The farmer in civilization	39
The scope, field, and development of rural sociology	37
Rural leadership	34
Rural mental traits	34
Rural art	32
Rural social progress	31
Physiographic influences on rural society	30
Nature of human groups	26
Rural recreation	26
Evolution of the rural community	25
Backward and antisocial classes	24

The order of the 12 highest topics whose data are checked primarily as objective observations, is as follows:

Special characteristics of rural society in the United States	49
The rural neighborhood	49
Socialization through contacts	49
Child and woman labor	45
Farm family and home	45
Country village and town	45
Reading and the rural press	44
Factors giving rise to rural sociology	43
Rural isolation and communication	42
Relation of rural sociology to other sciences	42
Nature of human groups	41
Town-country relations	40

Of the 122 teachers, 64 reported the use of *one* basic text for the course, 29 *two* basic texts, and 12 *three* or more basic texts. All except 4 of the 122 teachers reported required supplementary readings in from one to fifty additional books and reports, the numbers most frequently mentioned being *two*, *three*, and *four* supplementary books.

Books used as basic texts according to the number of times mentioned are as follows:

Taylor	49	Phelan	8
Gillette	35	Galpin	4
Sims	29	Campbell	2
Lundquist and Carver	16	Williams	1
Hawthorn	14	Burr	1
Vogt	11	Sanderson	1

Books used as supplementary readings according to number of times mentioned are as follows:

Gillette	41	Campbell	6
Sims	36	Wilson	5
Phelan	29	Butterfield	5
Galpin	23	Burr	4
Taylor	20	Branson	3
Hawthorn	18	Eastman	2
Lundquist and Carver	17	Quick	1
Williams	7		

This article will be closed with quotations from some of the "remarks and suggestions" made by teachers:

"The books need to deal more with culture analysis. Sims has made a real beginning in certain chapters."

"More process conception such as based on text like Park and Burgess is needed, and facts of social life in rural groups used for illustration."

"Course needs to be more sociology and less of rural social problems."

"I think the aim should be to present a unified point of view rather than many descriptive details."

"Perhaps we need to divide the subjects according to region. For example, tenancy is not universally a rural problem. At present it is difficult to define clearly what the problems are."

"Course should be more localized and oriented to the locality."

"A much better knowledge of the social history and geography of the United States would help enormously as a prerequisite."

"The course is often taught without application, hence little real learning results. The student must study his own community through application of what he has learned."

"I do not think your questions are sufficiently discriminative to get far, especially under iii. It is impossible to say whether our state of knowledge about some of these topics is primarily for 2 or 3, for on most topics there is knowledge of all these grades."

"The quality of texts can usually be improved but it seems to me that we have a better quality of texts in rural sociology than in many courses in general sociology."

"A text is only an outline guide anyway. It needs an intelligent teacher."
(Question might be raised whether the writer of the text should be intelligent.)

WHAT THE CONTENT OF THE INTRODUCTORY COURSE IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY SHOULD BE

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ABSTRACT

This paper consists of a digest of eleven questionnaires which the Committee on Teaching Rural Sociology sent to a list of selected teachers. The results were tabulated under four headings both for colleges and universities, and normal schools, as follows: (1) topics on which there was total disagreement; (2) topics on which there was general agreement; (3) topics considered important; (4) topics given special emphasis. Criticisms of the questionnaire were made.

The Committee on the Teaching of Rural Sociology prepared and submitted an elaborate questionnaire to a selected list of persons teaching this subject in colleges and universities. The object of the inquiry was to get a consensus of opinion on what the content of the introductory course in rural sociology should be. Eleven replies were received and tabulated. I have been asked to summarize and interpret the results thus obtained and to direct your thought toward some answer to the question.

Let us proceed to our task by indicating first of all the nature, method, and scope of the questionnaire. In its main headings it was identical with a questionnaire sent to teachers of rural sociology in general asking concerning the content of the introductory course given at the present time. There were forty-one main topics of inquiry or chapter subjects covering about every problem treated in the six textbooks commonly in use. In addition our questionnaire went into great detail by submitting anywhere from five to fifteen specific questions under each of the forty-one chapters. There were thus 292 subtopics to be checked.

Opposite each chapter and sub-topic heading there were five spaces for checking. These were "o," indicating omission of the topic; "1," slight treatment; "2," normal treatment; "3," some emphasis; and "4," special emphasis. Each teacher was instructed to check this elaborate list according to his notion of what should go into the course, and how much emphasis each topic should receive. This was to be done for a college or university course and also for a normal-school course.

After a careful study of the data from the eleven blanks returned, I have concluded that such information as they yield may be comprehended best under four categories of my own coinage.

These categories are: first, topics concerning which there is general disagreement among the respondents; second, topics on which there is agreement

to omit; third, topics on which there is agreement that they are important, and, fourth, topics on which there is agreement for emphasis.

I shall first summarize for the college or university course. Under the first category I find at least four chapter subjects, viz., farm wealth and income; farmer and civilization; methods of rural investigation; national and state land policies.

Under the second category, I find the modal mind to be in agreement that six topics are either negligible or unimportant or should be omitted. These are: rural sociology as a science; nature of human groups; historical types of rural communities; land and land resources; agricultural production, and farm management.

The third category includes nine topics which have been voted of sufficient importance to be included in the course. They are as follows: special characteristics of rural society in the United States; evolution of rural community in the United States; rural mental traits; backward and anti-social classes; physiographic influences on rural society; farm ownership and tenancy; farm labor; agricultural extension work, and rural art.

Category number four draws twenty-two topics for emphasis. They are included in the following list: the rural neighborhood; the new rural community; composition of farm population; migrations of rural population; rural health and sanitation; rural isolation and communication; socialization through contacts; child and woman labor on farm; economic co-operative organization; rural standard of living; farm family and the home; rural church; rural school; reading, rural press, libraries; rural recreation; country villages and towns; town and country relations; farmers and government; farmer movements; rural leadership; organizing the rural community, and rural social progress.

In the light of our data it would seem fair to disregard the first two categories altogether and combine the topics of the last two categories to arrive at the consensus of opinion as to the content of our introductory course. This would give us thirty-one out of the forty-one chapter subjects of the questionnaire. On these, with varying degrees of emphasis there is substantial agreement among the eleven respondents.

On the normal school course only ten reported. And in general far less agreement was revealed than in the case of the college course.

Under the category of hopeless disagreement ten topics are found. Three were the same as those found in this class in the college report. The other seven were the following: rural sociology as a science; nature of human groups; rural mental traits; farm ownership and tenancy; economic co-operative organization; farmers and government, and rural social progress.

The second category, that of slight attention or omission, has six topics. Four are identical with those under this class in the college report. The other two topics are national and state land policies, and farm labor.

It should be noted in passing that all ten topics in the first two categories

for colleges and universities occur among the sixteen topics falling to these classes for normal schools.

In the third category I find thirteen chapter subjects. Four are the same as for colleges and universities. The other nine are: composition of farm population; migration of farm population; rural social isolation and communication; socialization through contacts; physiographic influences; child and woman's labor; country villages and towns; town and country relations, and farm movements.

The fourth category for normal schools has but twelve chapter subjects. Eleven of these occur in the college list of twenty-two topics assigned to this class. The one topic not in the college list is agricultural extension work.

Following the method used for colleges and universities and combining the third and fourth categories we get twenty-five topics which we may consider to be the content of the normal school course.

The conclusions I have given you have been based on broad general averages. I have tried merely roughly to determine the modal opinion with respect to each topic. Personally I doubt very much if anything particularly significant has been discovered. There are valid grounds for this judgment since the respondents declare themselves, in several cases, in doubt about their own replies. They were critical of the form of the questionnaire, skeptical about this method of determining the content of the course, and doubtful about the advisability of trying to set up a standardized course.

The commentaries of the respondents rather than their check marks on the schedule seem to be the most illuminating part of the inquiry. Several condemned the questionnaire on a number of specific points. One said that it was so detailed that it confused. Another said it was not well organized and suggested that many topics could be combined. Others objected that it was concerned merely with a set of problems, many of which were not sociological at all. It was thus intimated that what the content of the course should be could not be found out simply by asking respondents to make choice among a fixed set of topics. It was hinted that one should bring forth his own topics, not just vote on a predetermined slate. Again, and more emphatically, it was declared that such a variety of conditions prevail in our institutions, that there are so many different kinds of students to be taught, and such a diversity of ends to be sought in the teaching, that no standard course can be or should be thought of.

The implications of these criticisms merit discussion. If we consider the last one mentioned for a moment it becomes obvious that no one course can indeed fit all cases, at least in our colleges and universities. There are, for instance, agricultural colleges where several courses in rural sociology are given. In such cases the introductory course will normally be designed to prepare the student for more advanced work. The course will probably exclude some things that would be given if no other courses were in view. In fact one or two respondents said they checked the questionnaire with just this situation in mind.

Other colleges will give but a single course without thought of preparing the student for advanced study. Perhaps this is the most common situation. The course in such cases will wisely be as comprehensive as possible. Another situation is found in which there are prerequisite courses for rural sociology. If general sociology is first required, the rural course will scarcely be the same as otherwise. Then we have to bear in mind the fact that the nature and emphasis of a course in a college of liberal arts will of necessity be more or less different from one in a technical or vocational school, such as an agricultural college. In the last two instances we have students whose background, outlook, and needs are in the main quite unlike.

A further implication of the criticisms compels us to recognize the fact that two general types of courses are permissible. One type is the *country-life problems course*. The other is the *pure rural sociology course*. There is, as some of the respondents pointed out and as, I suppose, most of us realize, a decided difference between the two.

It is no mere accident, I take it, that this questionnaire was cast in terms of problems, for such for the most part is the prevailing interest. Our texts naturally reflect it and the courses as given follow the mode. Nor in my own opinion is this to be condemned, for the average student wants to know about country-life conditions. If to inform him adequately we are prone to stray into such fields as farm management, agricultural economics, domestic science, local government, art, hygiene, religious education, criminology, and other subjects too numerous to mention, what of it? Do not conditions rather than theories of the departmentalization of knowledge justify our catholicity? I for one think so. For I assume the functional idea should be our guide rather than the academic notion of strict division of labor.

A course in *pure rural sociology* rather than one in *country-life problems* may often be what is needed. Doubtless as the subject finds its way more and more into the curriculums of the liberal arts colleges we shall discover a growing preference for this sort of course. If I mistake not there is already manifest something of a trend in this direction. In such a course all the extraneous, non-sociological matter of a problem course can be discarded and one may pursue sociology to the limit. I am not at all sure that eventually a course in pure rural sociology will not become the introductory course in departments of sociology. Much at least can be said in behalf of such a plan.

The Committee in assigning me this paper suggested that I might present my own ideas as to the content of the course under consideration. Thus far I have avoided doing so in any specific manner. It will be the part of discretion to continue in this, for it would only give those present more ample opportunity to fall upon and devour me, and I would rather you would spare me and forthwith fall upon one another.

In conclusion, I would like to propose to the Committee, in view of any further study of this question, that it might be profitable to think not in terms of one standard course, but in terms of several types of courses adapted to the

various conditions that have to be met in our colleges and universities. Again I would suggest that several experienced teachers in the field be asked to outline what they think the course for their particular type of conditions should be. These outlines brought together into a composite one might possibly give something more valuable than what we have got from the present questionnaire. Finally, I would suggest that an inquiry be made of competent rural sociologists as to what the content of a course in pure rural sociology should be. Such information would supplement the data we now have with respect to distinctively problem courses.

USE OF SURVEYS, CENSUS DATA, AND OTHER SOURCES

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ABSTRACT

The subject assigned to the writer suggests a paper supplementing the one which constituted part of last year's corresponding program. Interested readers may refer to it in the proceedings. That paper dealt with the general doctrines of our leading texts in rural sociology. This one deals with their use of data from census, survey, and other similar sources. It includes some discussion of laboratory uses of data from these and other sources.

Tabular analysis of the textbooks in this and related fields shows that the rural sociologists use much more concrete material from survey and other similar sources than do the general sociologists, or even the writers of texts bearing such titles as applied sociology and the community. The texts on agricultural economics use more census material but much less survey material than those on rural sociology.

No text in rural sociology seems to contemplate laboratory work. Perhaps the time has come for a general use of laboratory work in rural sociology. This should doubtless include directed observation of social forces and processes or participation in them. If time permits, the student may even have laboratory work in the actual direction of rural play and other sociological activities.

Surveys, census, and other similar materials may enter the course in rural sociology through four channels: (1) the textbook, (2) the lecture, (3) collateral reading, and (4) laboratory work.

This paper will confine itself to the textbook and the laboratory uses of source materials, as we can only conjecture with regard to the lectures and collateral reading. The laboratory discussion is designed to supplement Professor Yoder's 1928 paper, coming in part from the same schedules and the same teachers. The textbook discussion will be almost entirely based upon a factual tabular analysis of substantially the same textbooks with regard to which Professors Zimmerman and Yoder gave us such divergent opinions in their 1927 papers.¹ Meanwhile there has appeared another book which is clearly entitled to consideration.² Apparently all the writers in the field of the rural social sciences agree in regarding a considerable use of census, survey, and other similar source materials as desirable.

More than a fifth of the space of textbooks in rural sociology is occupied by census, survey, and other similar materials. This includes only materials so labeled or recognizable as such. Some textbook writers have done so much research work themselves or have so thoroughly digested that of others that it

¹ *Proceedings*, p. 250.

² Sims, *Elements of Rural Sociology* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1928).

is quite difficult to be sure just what pages are sufficiently directly based upon survey, census, or other similar materials to be included in our tabulation. The aim is to exclude text which is merely more or less remotely based upon census or survey material and include only that which directly incorporates the actual material.

About two-thirds of all this material came from surveys and only one-seventh of it came from the census, including the census materials of other countries and figures which more closely resembled those of the census than those of surveys and other research studies. Doubtless this small proportion of census material arises (1) from the dearth of census material dealing with the farm or even rural welfare, and (2) from the fact that the surveys digest and interpret materials as the census does not. Perhaps the skilful and judicious use of census materials may prove the way to some great improvements in our textbooks of the near future. This will mean harder work for authors but better scientific results in one sense at least. Census data have an enormously broad statistical basis. The survey usually covers a relatively limited number of cases in one or a few localities. The census covers the nation. The one gets samples representative of only a small area; the other covers the universe in the statistician's sense of the term universe. The survey presents to the student a much more detailed picture of a given locality, which it is hoped is more or less typical of a considerable farm area. The census presents a less detailed but universal picture, one which covers the nation and in which the states or perhaps even the counties present their local variations. The author cannot quote a survey of any farm community or its homes and say, "This is universally true." He can only say, "This is true of one region. In a greater or less degree it is probably true of your locality." This stimulates the student to try to visualize the details for any other given region, but that is all.

"What is the trend?" is always an interesting question. One might easily suppose that we would find practically no survey, census, and other similar material in the pioneer text. These agencies were then giving us little farm-welfare material as compared with what they now supply. General sociology, up to that time, had practically ignored all such sources in textbooks for introductory courses. A survey of twenty-four introductory texts in general sociology, ranging from 1894 to 1928 and aggregating 12,172 pages, showed that 3 per cent of the material came from survey, census, and other similar sources. If there was a single trace of such material in the first of the twenty-four the writer failed to find it. The same is true of some others issued very recently.

The daughter science, then, should have manifested no great appetite for statistics until old enough to be thoroughly emancipated from the mother's apron strings. On the contrary she seems to have been born with such an appetite and to have reduced it a little with advancing years. The pioneer book on rural sociology in 1913 was made of census, survey, and other similar materials to the extent of one-third of its pages, and the next, issued in 1917, to the extent of one-fourth. The very recent texts range from a tenth to two-fifths.

The kindred field of agricultural economics likewise draws about one-fifth of its textbook material from the source under discussion. Among the economists, however, the emphasis is much more largely upon census and other materials and much less upon surveys. The economist shares his field with the farm management man and it is in the textbooks on farm management that we find the survey material rather than in those upon agricultural economics. Among the economists also we have a greater percentage of space devoted by the very first writer than by the more recent ones to the survey, census, and other similar material.

Laboratory work in the beginning courses in rural sociology is still in the pioneer stage. The writer framed a schedule designed to get statements of what teachers felt constituted laboratory work, what were its purposes, advantages, and the methods to be used. Then came Professor Yoder's schedule and a feeling that the teachers should not be subjected to two schedules. Professor Yoder very kindly supplied office sheets from which we could tabulate the answers made by 122 teachers to the question, "To what extent do students make use of the following in the introductory course, A, recent surveys, B, census reports, C, laboratory exercises, D, field trips, and E, current publications?"

There is no way of knowing whether those who reported recent surveys, census reports, and current publications meant them to be regarded as used in lecture or as collateral reading. Presumably the answers do not refer to such materials as are found in the textbooks used or are made the basis of library-laboratory exercises. By laboratory exercises are evidently meant intra-mural activities perhaps under the eye of the instructor. The writer would class field trips as extra-mural laboratory exercises as will be seen a little later, but that is a matter of terminology. Use of current publications in proper proportions stimulates interest.

Of the 122 schedules on a mailing list of 600, 20 were from agricultural colleges, 37 from teachers' colleges and normal schools, and 65 from other colleges and universities. Nearly three-fourths reported using some or much recent survey material, and the others reported little or none or made no reply. Agricultural colleges and teacher-training institutions apparently make a little more use of such material than do other colleges and universities.

Census reports are used by about three-fifths of the teachers to an extent which they designated as "some," "much," or by some equivalent expression. Here again the teacher-training institutions lead.

Only 28 of the 122 teachers made more than a slight use of laboratory exercises. Here the colleges of agriculture lead. Field trips were a little more used than intra-mural laboratory exercises, with the teacher-training institutions leading in this matter. Current publications are almost universally used; only two teachers reported that they used none, although eleven failed to reply on this point. More than three-fourths reported use extensive enough to be designated as "some" or "much." Colleges and universities lead and agricul-

tural colleges lag on this point. The essence of laboratory work in any field is working with the materials of the subject instead of merely reading, writing, or talking about them. The materials of rural sociology are rural people, groups, institutions, structures, and social processes. Any well-rounded laboratory course should lead the student to observe the materials himself, or perhaps better still to participate in the processes or even direct them. This is not always possible, especially the direction. It may be possible, however, for the advanced if not the beginning student to have laboratory periods in the direction of such things as rural school plays or health examinations. A laboratory course in chemistry which consisted solely of answering questions from the text or other printed page or graphic presentation or other manipulation of data with regard to the elements and compounds studied would be regarded as wholly inadequate.

Of course the two cases are not entirely parallel. No two cases ever are. The student has seen human beings, families, and many other things which constitute the subject matter of rural sociology. It may be argued therefore that he need only have his observation of the individual, group, and institution carefully systematized. He has already done his laboratory work as a farm boy. He has already proceeded by the inductive method through the stage of concrete data and he is ready for abstract generalization under the direction of the classroom teacher without further laboratory work, it may be argued. By the same process of reasoning we need no laboratory work in botany. No student ever comes to botany without having seen a great many plants, but he must now study them under direction. Some students come into rural sociology with very little knowledge of farm people as compared with town or city people. Even the farm-reared students have never seen or have seen with non-observant eyes a great many of the things of which the courses in rural sociology should give them the best grasp obtainable in the limited time available. It does not fall within the subject assigned to this paper to outline a detailed program for the students. We should not forget the importance of these things also in considering the use of survey, census, and other similar material.

Census material must be handled solely or at least mainly in laboratory by the library-laboratory method—from the printed page and not by participation in the process of census-taking. It is a very easy matter for any properly trained teacher to outline all the laboratory work of this character based upon census data for which the students have time. The students should learn how to manipulate, interpret, and graph the farm-welfare data for his own county, state, and section, and finally for the United States as a whole. This starts him upon his own local situation for which he has a more complete background than for any of the others. He learns things about his own county that he never realized before. This gives him a good basis for a better understanding of the state, sectional, and national data, and a better realization of the fact that things are different elsewhere.

The survey presents a very different range of possibilities for laboratory

work from that just suggested in connection with the census. It may be used, as the census material must be used, largely for library-laboratory purposes. It may give much the same training in the manipulation of data obtained from the printed page. On the other hand it gives opportunity for the student to gather his own data from his own home community during a Thanksgiving or other intermission. It gives him an opportunity to prepare a simple schedule and learn its pitfalls first from the laboratory instructor and then from the more exacting instructor called field experience. He may make a house-to-house canvass of his neighborhood or community, a county-road traffic survey, a church survey, a trade survey, or any other which interests him most or is most likely to prove of value to him, and then carry the process on through the successive steps of editing the schedules, tabulating the results, presenting them graphically, interpreting them, and publishing them in his local paper, a farm paper of the state, or perhaps pooling his resources with those of his fellow-students and his instructor and issuing a more pretentious publication through some available channel.

Other more or less similar materials may be treated in the same way in accordance with the special needs of the student, subject only to the limitations of his ingenuity and that of the laboratory instructor. Innumerable reports are available for laboratory analysis. Nearly every class in rural sociology doubtless is within the reach of the records of a county courthouse and of other records from which data may be tabulated. The alert instructor will usually have no great difficulty in providing ample interesting and instructive occupation for many times the periods which can be devoted to laboratory work. The overloaded instructor with a heavy schedule and perhaps little training will need the help of a good manual. Even the less burdened or better prepared teacher will profit from the experience of others. If the time is ripe for the general introduction of laboratory work, few things will help this process more than a complete thoroughly teachable laboratory manual from which may be selected the exercises which best meet the needs of each particular class.

DISCUSSION

A. W. HAYES, MARSHALL COLLEGE

Due consideration of the two papers just presented might well lead us to list briefly under Professor Rankin's four channels the aims to be desired in a systematic development of them. I shall rather categorically state what it seems to me we ought to expect from the use of the textbook, the lecture, collateral reading, and laboratory work in the course in rural sociology.

The textbook:

1. A good text will stimulate the student to the point of self-help. It should be so written that the student may become aroused to do some independent reading and investigating in different fields of the subject.

2. A good textbook will assist in organizing the subject materials. A poorly arranged and poorly planned text cannot do this.

3. The text must possess fundamental facts or it will be superficial, if not untrustworthy.

4. A text that holds attention and creates deepened interests will be one embodying a progressive philosophy of rural life.

The lecture:

1. Lectures are aids in the sifting and sorting process; they must help the student interpret and sum up the materials of the course. On examination and interpretation of data, surveys, and studies, a well presented lecture will do much to help a student get hold of key-points and situations.

2. The lecture is less formal than text material, therefore it becomes a means of making appeals to intellectual interests that are localized and unique.

3. Lectures, like texts, must be founded upon facts, and in no sense should they drift into dogmatic presentations.

Collateral reading:

1. It needs to be carefully chosen and to have relatedness to course materials. We can easily make it so voluminous that it will be poorly read and poorly mastered.

2. Collateral reading material in rural sociology is developing rapidly, hence the student will need to keep abreast of the research publications from colleges, experiment stations, and the United States Department of Agriculture.

3. Other texts in rural sociology, as well as general reading books, journals, and farm papers, need to be at hand to supplement class reports and discussions.

Laboratory work:

1. This is probably the most difficult part of a course in rural sociology.

Where locations and conditions are such that it can be employed with profit it adds materially to the success of the course.

2. Laboratory work must not be confused with research work. Laboratory instruction is, as Professor Rankin states, working with the materials of rural sociology, such as rural people, groups, institutions, structures, and social processes, to observe and record principles and social phenomena already known. Instead of merely reading about such things, the student in the rural sociological laboratory has actual contact with them.

3. Laboratory work must be done under fairly predictable conditions the outcome of which can be foreseen by the instructor.

4. Laboratory work needs to have definiteness and singleness of purpose; it can easily become such commonplace observation as to cause the student to lose respect for it. It may well involve such things as simple survey work, the carrying out of a project in a rural area, engaging in rural school plays, and the like.

In brief summary of what should be the content and the methods of an introductory course in rural sociology we might here repeat, in part at least, a few thoughts dropped by Professor Giddings:

The scientific study of any subject is a substitution of business-like ways of "making sure" about it for the lazy habit of "taking it for granted" and the worse habit of making irresponsible assertions about it. To make sure, it is necessary to have done with a careless "looking into it" and to undertake precise observations, many times repeated. It is necessary to make measurements and accountings, to substitute realistic thinking (an honest dealing with facts as they are) for wishful or fanciful or other self-deceiving thinking and to carry on a systematic "checking up." At every step we must make sure that the methods which we use and rely on have been accredited by exhaustive criticism and trial, and are applicable to the investigation in hand.¹

In closing let me state that it seems to me rural sociological writers of texts and materials are to be commended on the points of view they have taken, and on the systematic efforts they have shown of basing their writings upon factual materials. Because of this scientific attitude of many relatively young but well-trained rural sociologists, we are rapidly banishing snap judgment and cursory observation practices from the field and are injecting a very desirable scientific emphasis. It has been well pointed out by the speakers before me that our uses of surveys, census data, and other similar material are now advanced and well recognized; it is undoubtedly having a desirable effect on all social studies. All of this recognition is not unmindful, however, of the problems of handling the subject materials of our introductory courses which have been so well presented by Professors Rankin and Yoder.

¹ F. H. Giddings, *The Scientific Study of Human Society* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1924), pp. 41-42.

DISCUSSION

J. L. HYPES, CONNECTICUT AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE

We have certain knowledge of the present content of the introductory courses in rural sociology without a very definite notion of its value, or of criteria for determining its value. Evidently we must go farther than mere fact-finding regarding the present status of these courses, however valuable and necessary that may be as an initial step; we are merely at the threshold of much experimentation and investigation that need to be done in this field. The next steps in the further consideration of the topic treated in these papers should be the "job analysis" of the educational needs of important case types of students that rural sociological courses may supply, and the selection and synthesis of sociological facts and activities on the basis of their functional values. This, of course, involves a certain amount of experimentation and critical thought, but we already have helpful precedents of scientific investigations in curriculum and course construction in the contemporary field of education.

In order to establish suitable points of departure for further discussion of the central topic treated by these two papers, the writer tentatively proposes the following as guiding principles:

1. Applying the concept of job analysis current in contemporary vocational education, we should analyze the social aspects of rural life into their activities, responsibilities, and problems. Then these analyzed data should be selected and synthesized into a course according to the principles hereinafter listed.

2. The objectives of the course should be clearly defined in terms of the needs of the students; then the content material and its treatment should be selected for their functional use. It seems clear that rural group life in its psychological, ecological, economic, institutional, participational, professional, and other aspects, is too broad and inclusive a subject to be treated fruitfully in one or more all-inclusive undifferentiated courses. Therefore, selection of content material and methods of instruction ought to be made about some central motif of function or interest.

3. In order to decide wisely the objectives, the content, and methods of instruction in such courses, the age, experience, and educational needs of the students, course prerequisites and other matters must be known and suitably accounted for. The following case types of students may be described:

- a) Normal school girls nineteen or twenty years of age, city-bred, who will begin teaching in the one-room or consolidated schools of the country,

village, or small city. Plainly, if there is only one course in rural sociology offered, the course for this group should be given as *educational sociology* adapted to rural life conditions. Much of the content of this course might well be informative and descriptive, rather than technical or philosophical in nature. Also, it should be offered so as to give the trainees actual contact with rural institutions, rural home conditions, rural socio-economic problems, and the like. Incidentally, the course should give practical leads to the compilation and use of rural life data in health education, practical arts, community civics, English, history, and other courses in the public schools.

b) Fairly mature divinity students with an advanced education, preparing for rural service. In certain theological seminaries one or more courses in rural sociology of a more or less introductory nature are offered. Most of the trainees in these courses, being farm-bred and farm-reared, have already acquired considerable knowledge of the elementary aspects of rural life, but need to follow this knowledge into its deeper philosophical and scientific meaning. They will also need to become thoroughly acquainted with the various organized agencies working in the rural field, their functions, accomplishments, and personnel. Evidently, while this course may treat many of the topics included in the normal-school course, it would necessarily place its emphasis upon them quite differently in many respects, would be more technical and advanced in nature, and possibly more adapted to social organization. As in the normal-school course, this course would have as its major objective the introduction of its students to a better understanding of rural life rather than their introduction to other courses of an advanced and more specialized nature.

c) Fairly mature undergraduates preparing for county agent and other forms of professional service in the open country and village. Many of the smaller land-grant colleges and other institutions of a similar nature offer one or two courses in rural sociology of a more or less general or introductory nature. Many of these institutions do not require sociology or other prerequisites to enrolment in these courses, excepting, possibly, upper-classman standing. However, since these courses in such institutions are usually offered in the Junior or Senior years, they secure fairly mature students, most of whom, it is probable, are farm-bred and farm-reared. These courses probably should be somewhat like those intended for the professional training of rural clergymen, excepting that the economic and organizational phases of rural life should be stressed a little more.

d) Underclassmen and other students preparing to go deeply into the study of rural sociology. There are a few of the larger land-grant colleges and other similar institutions that have specialized departments of rural sociology separately organized or so departmentalized with clearly allied subjects as to offer extended and highly specialized training in this field. One of these institutions surveyed by the author a few years ago offered, beside a number of elementary courses in rural sociology, many of which were professional in nature,

eleven graduate courses. Obviously an introductory course in rural sociology in this institution, for many of the students at least, would be primarily an introduction to more advanced courses in rural sociology. Since professional and specialized courses in rural sociology are available in institutions of this kind, the content and the methods of the introductory course might well be different, in many respects, from those of any of the other case types of introductory courses described; at least we would not expect great emphasis to be placed upon certain phases of rural life that are treated at length in other more specialized courses.

If the foregoing discussions and suggestions are measurably tenable, it is obvious that no one introductory course, text, or other body of material of an introductory nature can be used equally well for all case groups of students. There will need to be many sorts of introductory courses created and many introductory texts written, varying in content and in emphasis of content, and varying in pedagogical treatment and in levels of difficulty, according to the needs of different case types of students.

RURAL COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION IN OHIO— A SPECIFIC ILLUSTRATION

C. E. LIVELY, OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

The work in rural community organization as organized and carried on by the College of Agriculture of the Ohio State University is based upon certain assumptions which have grown out of a general knowledge of the rural-life situation in Ohio. They are (1) that rural life in Ohio is sufficiently old and well established so that there exists a large number of fairly well-defined communities; that the agricultural extension organization which has been operating in the state for many years, and through which the work in community organization is promoted, is, and has been, working with these communities, and that it is both logical and desirable for those working in the field of community organization to do likewise. (2) That the thing of greatest importance for rural life is the functional organization of rural people for the development of specific activities and to obtain specific services; that if major emphasis be placed upon the function to be performed, the necessary local organization machinery may be expected very largely to take care of itself; that, both because of lack of knowledge and because of the difficulties involved in bringing about drastic and sweeping changes, the College of Agriculture is at present in no position to organize or reorganize those communities as such. (3) That there is sufficient organization and a sufficient number of organizations already existing in these rural communities with and through which the work in question may be promoted; and that structural inadequacy will manifest itself best when a task presents itself for the performance of which no adequate social machinery exists. A corollary to this third assumption is that existing organizations which have become relatively impotent may be reformed and revitalized through the desire of the people to perform a new and desirable function which presents itself.

The reader will readily note that there is nothing new in this approach to community organization. So far, the point of view has been entirely that of service to the already established community organizations and institutions, although it is planned to offer in the near future some service in the correlation of organization activities and community program planning.

It should be noted that the work in community organization is carried on through the agricultural extension service. It is, in fact, a part of the extension service and is viewed as a phase of the development of a complete program of agricultural extension. All contacts with the communities are cleared through the office of the county extension agent.

In outline form, the services now being offered to rural communities in Ohio include:

1. Recreation service.

- a) Amateur dramatics—county schools for leadership-training in the selecting, casting, staging, and acting of plays. Persons trained are designated by local organizations and institutions. Intercommunity elimination contests in play production are held on county basis. The whole is being gradually integrated into a state system of competitions. A play loan service of samples is maintained.
 - b) Mass recreation—both indoor and outdoor.
 1. Games, stunts, devices for enlivening group programs and meetings.
 2. Camp activities—organization, programs, stunts, etc.
 3. Mimeograph service of suggestions is maintained.
 - c) District recreation institutes—includes several counties. Philosophy and sociology of play and recreation, its problems, methods, and materials are discussed. Demonstrations are made and organization leaders trained.
2. Special work with specific organizations, as grange, farm bureau, parent-teachers' associations, Four-H clubs, rural ministers, etc. Work consists of conferences on program-planning for the internal success of the organization and discussion of the relation of the organization in question to the community and its development. Accomplished by appearing on county, district, and state organization programs, and by means of special conferences and short courses, such as an annual school of methods for grange lecturers and an annual summer school for rural ministers.
3. County conferences on meaning and utility of organizations—representatives of organizations discuss such questions as "Why do we have organizations?" "What are the purposes of organization meetings?" "What constitutes a good meeting?" "What can be done to improve organization meetings and organization work?"

The foregoing constitutes a brief outline of the service as offered at present. Research is now under way covering the field of the nature, distribution, and functioning of local rural organizations, and it is hoped that the information thus obtained will make possible some expansion of the extension to include expert service to communities in the planning and development of their community activities and the adjustment of their organization programs to more fully meet community needs.

Specifically, the extension service thus offered to the rural counties of Ohio has worked out in Warren County as follows:

During the winter of 1926 a school of dramatics was held in the county. This school was attended by an average of fifty persons representing all of the communities in the county. As a result the production of amateur plays was greatly increased in the county. The six granges formed a circuit and exchanged play performances at least once a year. The following year a little theater organization was formed at the county fair and in 1927 five organizations, and in 1928 four organizations, competed in the production of plays. Inadequate facilities for play production at the fair has kept the number of contestants small, but prospects indicate an increase in 1929. In one com-

munity the various organizations raised sufficient funds through play production to enable them to finance a community institute.

In April, 1928, a one-week district recreational institute was held in the county. Courses in both dramatics and mass recreation were offered. It was attended by 115 persons representing ten counties. About 75 of these persons were residents of Warren County.

Following this institute the county home demonstration agent made a consistent effort to extend recreational work throughout the county. She helped to plan recreational programs for granges, farm bureaus, Four-H clubs, community clubs, farmers' institutes, extension camps, picnics, home parties, and so on. Fun frolics were conducted in several places at the request of the local communities. The home agent installed a recreation library in her office and it was much used.

At the request of the granges of the county, the home agent held from two to three conferences for grange lecturers each year. These conferences were a hundred per cent attended. Programs were planned for as much as six months in advance, and particular care was taken to see that the programs were balanced.

These activities resulted in more and better recreation for the country people at little or no cost to them. Better attendance at organization meetings and more interest in their programs developed. New organizations sprang up in some communities. Also, the work opened up certain communities for extension work in agriculture and home economics which had hitherto been closed to these activities.

Thus it may be said that the extension work in community organization accomplished results in Warren County as follows: (1) It strengthened existing organizations. (2) It sometimes resulted in new organizations. (3) It added valuable activities to the life of the rural communities reached—activities which appealed to the people, developed latent leadership, and increased friendly good feeling among the people. (4) It provided a wedge through which other extension activities were introduced into certain communities.

THE USE OF THE SCORE CARD IN A WEST VIRGINIA COMMUNITY

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The community score card is regarded primarily as a teaching and stimulating device. The scoring is not entirely scientific. The value of the process is due to the reaction of the people to the process which is much more valuable to them than would be the efforts of a trained sociologist doing the scoring himself.

Director Nat T. Frame of the West Virginia Agricultural Extension Division is the originator of the idea of combining various standards that pertain to the total life in the community. The first score card published in 1919 contained the following main subdivisions. History, government, business, farms, clubs, homes, schools, churches, and health. To each of these, with the exception of farms, the value of one hundred points was given, and to farms two hundred points, making a total of one thousand points. In 1920 the first country life conference was held at Aurora in Preston County. The country life conference is a combination of the scoring process and the bringing of inspirational and educational messages by laymen and ministers. On Friday evening, ordinarily four items are on the program: devotional service, a talk on the purpose of the conference, a history of the community, and a lecture or sermon. Saturday afternoon the major part of the scoring takes place. One of the first steps is that of deciding on the community boundary line, explaining the method of scoring the community and the purpose of that to be achieved.

The entire group consisting of from twenty to one-hundred and fifty persons assists with the scoring of the first two divisions of the score card. Then the women of the group help score health and homes, while the men score business and farms. Often times a committee helps score schools and churches or recreation.

The report of progress is the main basis on which the community is re-scored. The point is stressed, however, that it takes a certain amount of effort to hold the past score: to overcome depreciation. The scoring discloses the strong and weak points in the life of the community. Following the scoring, a community plan of work is mapped out to help raise the low scores and thus strengthen the weak points in the life of the community. One of the chief aims of scoring is that of helping the people work out a balanced community program of work. The follow-up work during the year is in direct charge of a community council elected by the community, with the assistance of the county and state agencies.

The country life conference is in the opinion of the writer the heart and

soul of the movement. This belief is based on the assumption that there is no factor or influence that will motivate people more than the right understanding and appreciation of the Christian religion. This philosophy is also predicted on the idea that the kingdom of God is the supreme ideal and that this ideal includes all other ideals and attitudes that will help the people in the community live the best physical, social, intellectual, and spiritual life that it is possible for them to live.

MEXICAN IMMIGRATION

ABSTRACT OF A STUDY BY MANUEL GAMIO, MEXICO, OF THE ANTECEDENTS OF MEXICAN IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES

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In 1926 Dr. Manuel Gamio made a study of Mexican immigration to the United States under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council. His report of this study emphasizes the cultural and environmental disparity between those regions from which the Mexican immigrants come and those parts of the United States to which they now go. The Postoffice records of money orders sent to Mexico from the United States provide a valuable source of information as to seasonal and other fluctuations in this immigration, and also as to the places in Mexico from which the immigrants come and their present distribution in the United States. The immigrants come largely from those densely populated states of the central mesa where the agrarian problem has been most acute.

The isolation and mobility of the immigrant prevent his assimilation. At the same time he develops in the United States an intensely nationalistic attitude. A basis for such conclusions is found in many life-history documents obtained and in a collection of songs written by immigrants and expressive of their mental life.

Dr. Gamio finds the contrast between American and Mexican standards of living observed by residents near the border, and vivid in the mind of the returned immigrant, a cause of the Mexican revolutionary movement since 1910.

An account of the opinions of Mexican and United States authorities and special interests, with respect to this immigration, leads to Dr. Gamio's own recommendation. He concludes that the immigrant long remaining in the United States is a burden to the United States because he eventually competes with native Americans and produces assimilation problems, and likewise to Mexico because the loss of these now more educated citizens is a drain on that country. The transient laborer, on the other hand, works for the United States for a brief time and on his return to Mexico helps to improve his own people. Therefore it is suggested that while the quota or other restriction might be applied to immigrants intending to remain in the United States, temporary two-year permits of entry might be granted without restriction even as to illiteracy. Dr. Gamio would permit employers to contract for labor in Mexico if they furnished such laborers with return tickets to the border.

ECONOMIC REASONS FOR THE COMING OF THE
MEXICAN IMMIGRANT

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Communities with higher standards of living and differentiated economic processes attract nearby populations. The seasonal character of agriculture early results in a demand for seasonal labor; this demand being satisfied differently according to the place and the time (England, France, Germany). In America, machinery has taken the place of labor in the production of grain crops. Cotton, however, requires much hand labor; and the increase in truck gardening, the shut-down of European immigration, and the migration of the Negro to industrial centers have created a need for labor. The revolutionary disturbances in Mexico since 1910 provided another motive for migrating.

The rise in the American farmer's standard of living and the post-war inflation of farm values were additional factors creating a need for cheap agricultural labor. Besides supplying this need, Mexicans are replacing the American tenant-farmer in Texas, while the owners move to the city. Mexicans who return to Mexico contribute to its Americanization. The social problems created by the presence of a large mass of migratory Mexicans, an exploited group, are tremendous, but they have not been faced because of the pressing need for cheap labor.

MEXICAN IMMIGRATION FROM THE SOCIOLOGICAL
POINT OF VIEW

EMORY S. BOGARDUS, UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

The Mexican immigrant who comes to the United States is not a typical Mexican, but represents an undeveloped form of social and community organization. He is the exponent of a family and village organization which is lacking in formal devices and administrative facilities. Communalism outweighs individualism with him. He is a representative, to a large extent, of a preliterate culture, and he finds little opportunity in this country to make wholesome social contacts outside his own group. His impact with a highly developed, individualistic, industrial society results in his segregation in both rural and urban areas. Little desire for American citizenship is aroused in him and his children, although native-born, are often considered foreign. Born into citizenship, these children are growing up in a low-grade Mexican culture medium, except as the American schools are affording contacts chiefly through sympathetic teachers. Often the victim of migratory conditions, due to seasonal labor demands, the children are especially handicapped. Under these conditions the Mexican changes his culture traits slowly; very little of his culture at its best is absorbed into that of his adopted country.

SECTION ON EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

ADAPTATION OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION TO RURAL COMMUNITIES

GEORGE A. WORKS, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

At present the great majority of rural schools have as the local unit of control the district, the township, or the county. Students of educational administration pretty generally favor the county. They are in general agreement in condemning the district as being poorly adapted to the demands of present-day education. In some parts of the country the town (township) is so thoroughly established that it seems unlikely in the near future at least to give way to the county. The county and the town (township) as units were devised primarily for other purposes than those of school support and control. In general they are units of political control. They may or may not be well adapted to meeting the needs of an expanding and developing system of education that is based on popular support. With some of the limitations of the existing units in mind it has been suggested that for parts of the country at least it would be more satisfactory to develop a unit for local school control in country districts that would be independent of political subdivisions.

The boundaries of this unit would be formed with regard to roads, topography, trade areas, and other factors that influence the social and economic life of the rural population. The name most commonly suggested is the community district. This form of organization has been up for consideration in legislation proposed for the reorganization of rural schools in Missouri, Washington, and New York. The main features of the plan as developed in New York State were: (1) All the territory outside of places of 4,500 population or more would be organized into units of local school control. (2) The boundaries of the local units were to be formed without reference to political units. The factors that affected the local social and economic life of the people were to be the basic consideration. (3) The community unit was to be large enough to warrant the maintenance of all desirable local educational activities. This would mean that under present educational conditions these units would be large enough to provide sufficient pupils for a high school.

The most common criticism of the proposal is that it is only a modified form of the district system. This is by most students of educational administration considered sufficient reason for condemning it. Question may very fairly be raised regarding the validity of this view. The district system was undoubtedly a very great factor in contributing to the development of lay interest in and support for public education. It offered a means by which a homogene-

ous group could not only contribute financial support but also by which they could foster the school in other ways. Its weakness at present lies in its persistence long after it is inadequate in meeting present-day educational demands and after the development of communication and transportation no longer make it necessary to maintain such small units. The proposed community unit is suggested as a means of adaptation of local control of rural schools to present-day educational needs and at the same time possesses sufficient flexibility so that adjustments may readily be made to the growing demands for school facilities.

PROBLEMS OF RURAL EDUCATION DEMANDING SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

DANIEL H. KULP II, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

The Federal Purnell Act has facilitated research into the sociology of rural life in an unprecedented way. Most of the studies made so far may be classified as "pure sociology" or the sociology of certain rural institutions, chiefly the farm family as such. It is here suggested that rural education affords a rich field for such research because, first, effects produced through schools may ramify throughout all institutions of rural life; second, conditions for research are peculiarly favorable in the experimental control features of school activities and on account of the public moneys expended; and, third, educators are seeking all the help they can find. Among many others the following are some of the pressing problems of practical schoolmen in the country districts:

1. The fixing of optimum organizational units of administration with special reference to requirements of adequate supervision.
2. The determination of the division of labor between schools and other educative agencies of rural communities and the precising of shortages of rural life for objectives and curriculums.
3. Deriving contents organically related to life-situations and weighting the different subjects of study in curriculum.
4. Improvement of teaching by adapting method to size and conditions of rural school work.
5. Utilizing a knowledge of the social worlds or pupils in prevention and treatment of pupil failures and maladjustments.
6. Conducting a functional extracurriculum program for various grades.
7. Expanding the use of the school plant for general community improvement.
8. A program capable of equipping prospective educators with technics of differential socio-analysis.

Let rural sociological research be related to such problems and significant outcomes will be secured for both pure and applied sociology.

IMPLICATIONS OF RECENT RURAL SURVEYS FOR THE
RURAL SCHOOLEDMUND DE S. BRUNNER, INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS RESEARCH,
NEW YORK CITY

Recent rural social surveys have made available much new data filled with implications for the rural school.

More than ever rural education is centering in the village. This requires a re-thinking of curriculum in terms of the needs of two groups of young people from somewhat different environments.

Nearly half of the rural high school graduates continue their education elsewhere, a larger group than formerly. This again means two groups with somewhat different educational needs.

The average rural child leaves school a year later than does the city boy or girl. This allows for offering a better rounded high-school education and raises the question as to whether the junior high school is as necessary in the country as in the city.

Tax rates and assessments condition school budgets. Recent studies make the matter of what the taxpayer can afford less a matter of conjecture than formerly and allow for better administrative planning.

But the outstanding fact in rural life at present is the growing dissatisfaction of country people with their life. Despite the growing urbanization of country life added to its admitted natural advantages, millions are headed cityward. Has the rural school laid adequate emphasis upon the improved character of country living or does the training it gives deepen the discontent of its students with rural life?

A CHILD'S EDUCATORS: A STUDY OF THE EDUCATIVE EFFECTS
OF NON-SCHOOL AGENCIES

F. R. CLOW, WISCONSIN STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE

Statistics on the non-school occupations of the school children at Oshkosh, Wisconsin, have been compiled occasionally since 1915, for children in grades 5 to 12. The time spent in bed decreases from ten hours 4 minutes for fifth-graders to eight hours forty-four minutes for high school Seniors. Other occupations under control of the home, such as meals, toilet, sickness, and care of health make the home responsible for much over half of the child's time. Doing some schoolwork at home increases gradually from Grades 5 to 8, and rapidly in the high school. Non-school study, usually music or religion, is pursued at home by 15 per cent in the Fifth Grade, increasing to 27 per cent in the eighth,

and decreasing thereafter. Useful work at home is most prominent in the fifth and sixth grades. Work away from home for pay occupies 10-15 per cent, with maximum in the eighth grade. Outdoor recreation and energetic activity fall off in the high school. Movies are about equally prominent with church. Shopping and mere roaming the streets or neighborhood are large items. Results of any of these activities are difficult to get in statistical form. Twice the proportion of eighth grade pupils who did school work at home subsequently graduated from the high school as of those who did not study at home. The other occupations show less decided results so far as the data have been compiled.

CONDITIONING FACTORS IN THE WORK OF THE HIGH-SCHOOL PUPIL

HARVEY D. DOUGLASS, SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS,
FOWLerville, MICHIGAN

School is one phase in the development of the citizen. Most of the citizen's habits are formed before he leaves school. The habit of work is one necessary to his success. In its qualitative and quantitative aspects work will condition his relative success. The work the child does in school is conditioned by other factors than those of the school. It is necessary that we know these factors and their influence in order that (*a*) we may diagnose the case, and (*b*) eliminate, control, or direct them, if the highest type of citizen is to result.

Some of these conditioning factors are (*a*) use of leisure time during the school year, (*b*) use of leisure time during the school year, (*c*) use of leisure time during the vacation period, (*d*) amount of study done by the child outside of school hours, (*e*) amount of work other than school work done by the child, (*f*) group life of the parent, (*g*) group life of the child, (*h*) home environment of the child, (*i*) education of the parents, (*j*) occupation of the parent, (*k*) leadership of the parents.

SOCIAL SCIENCES IN COLLEGE ENTRANCE AND GRADUATION REQUIREMENTS

DANIEL A. DOLLARHIDE, STATE FOREST SCHOOL, PENNSYLVANIA

A study analyzing the requirements for entrance to and graduation from 182 colleges and universities which grant degrees in the principal divisions schools or departments. The treatment is primarily quantitative and aims to show to what extent control is exercised over the social sciences, by the institu-

tion, both in entrance to and graduation from the public and private institutions listed. Interest is centered in what is prescribed and in what proportions rather than in what should be included.

The four social sciences of widest occurrence and most in demand, namely, history, economics, political science, and sociology, are included in this analysis. This study exhibits both entrance and graduation requirements as analyzed into groups of related curriculums and the total entrance requirements, the total prescribed requirements, and the social-science requirements are shown for each curriculum in each individual institution. Thereby reflecting, quantitatively, each of the social sciences included in the study.

Inasmuch as this is the last of a series of four studies made for the Department of Interior, Bureau of Education, a comparison of the social-science requirements in the 182 institutions is made to the requirements in classics, modern language, and chemistry. The institutions included in these studies were the same.

In this study of the social-science requirements we include the curriculums in the following departments: arts, science, education, agriculture, commerce, and business administration, engineering, forestry, journalism, music, home economics, prelaw, and premedicine.

ASSIMILATION OF THE INDIAN

FRANK W. BLACKMAR, UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

The purpose of this article is to interpret and evaluate the cultural relations of the Indian and the dominant white race. In recent years much investigation has been done by anthropologists and other scientists which discloses the character culture of the native races of America. The results of these investigations are recorded in monographs, reports, and general treatises. However, comparatively little study has been devoted to the problems of cultural assimilation of the races. The contact of the Indians of the tribal life and customs with white race of individual democracy is a history of striking contrasts and violent conflicts. It is a story of the dominant race trying to impose its cultures on a backward race, with the natural resistance of the latter. Of all organized groups the tribal is the most closely integrated. It is autocratic, traditional, and continuous in custom cultures and social order.

The changing attitude of mind of the dominant race toward the Indian has destroyed his opportunity for normal social development. Gradually tribal autocracy has disappeared, though tribal attitudes and modes remain. The present educational policy of the federal government is the final act in the trag-

edy of the dominant race to salvage the wreck of a disappearing civilization by making independent individual citizens fitted to use and enjoy the benefits of modern civilization and to bear the responsibilities imposed by it. This education considers consideration of political status, family relations, health, property, and income, independent earning capacity, ambition, and initiative, in fact, the remaking of a civilization. Thus the dominant race has been brought at last face to face with the greatest of all problems of social assimilation. Must the federal government continue its parental care indefinitely treating the Indians as wards or minor children, or is it possible to absorb them into the great body of independent citizens?

SECTION ON THE FAMILY

THE ISOLATED FAMILY

LEE M. BROOKS, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

The isolation here discussed is, in general, a concomitant of community isolation where physical distance and natural barriers are yet important considerations for study of the primary group from such viewpoints as health, education, religion, recreation, aesthetics, and general attitudes. Spatially separated families of the middle and lower economic classes are to be found today in New England, southeastern Kentucky, and on the coastal islands of North Carolina. This study, chiefly descriptive and partly statistical, is based upon research with about twenty-five families in each of the three regions. Physicians, nurses, teachers, ministers, social workers, county and state officials, librarians, radio stations, and others have supplemented the more intimate contacts achieved between families and research conductor.

New England has very few superisolated sections; large portions of southeastern Kentucky can be so described, while some of the islands off the coast of North Carolina have recently entered a condition which may be termed semi-isolation.

Among the tentative and specific conclusions are the following: food customs lag behind the recent theories of dietetics; the term "midwife" is not necessarily synonymous with a high mortality and morbidity rate among white people; the control of the size of families is seldom given thought or discussion especially by the older generation of parents; the age of marriage still ranges below twenty rather than above; interest generally is being directed toward better educational facilities; religious denominationalism gives signs of weakening, especially in New England; and feature article writers in newspapers and magazines are frequently offending isolated peoples and consequently hampering the work of the social investigator.

FITTER FAMILIES: A EUGENIC EXPERIMENT IN A BETTER FAMILY PROGRAM

FLORENCE BROWN SHERBON, UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

In 1920 the Kansas Free Fair established a department of eugenics and health (since 1925 under the American Eugenic Society) for the purpose of examining and scoring human stock under the slogan: "Fitter Families for

Future Firesides." During fair week each fall the gratis co-operation of fair association and of local professional people makes it possible to examine and score such families as have previously furnished family-trait records. Each individual is scored upon eleven points: eugenic history, social and educational achievement, health history, psychometric, psychiatric, structural, medical, laboratory, dental, special senses, and health habits. These ratings are averaged to make the individual score and the individual scores are averaged to make the family score. Awards have been in vogue from the first yet many families come through appreciation of the examination itself even though it consumes half a day. Up to the present it has been possible to take care of only six families and six individuals daily, but henceforth double the number can be accommodated. The families thus far have been about equally divided between city and country. Contrary to earlier experience all the family trophies this year were taken by farmers.

Among various results and points of interest which have emerged are the following: Bright people may be inhibited in their thinking by pencil and stop watch (Army Alpha and the farmer); a large fraction of the people need attention from physician or dentist. Among the weak points in the procedure are: The psychiatric examination; a lack of adequate data on family history, and a lack of standards of normality in many of the items of evaluation.

The aim is to show various possible relationships such as that between health habits and medical findings, between nerves and sleep, between headache and worry, between I.Q. and education, and so on, but especially that heredity in a positive or negative sense plays a rôle in each. The only unique feature of the project is this attempt at integration of the group. Each of the procedures must be put together, made organic. This is what is being attempted in a very pioneer way.

The fitter family project, which has been introduced into various states, is in one sense an attempt to do case work with normal groups and individuals. The ultimate establishment of norms should be of advantage to all family case workers.

DOMESTIC DISCORD: ITS ANALYSIS AND TREATMENT

ERNEST R. MOWRER, NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

The problem of domestic discord is made up of two tasks, the analysis and the treatment. The first belongs in the field of science, the second in the field of art. Between the two comes diagnosis. The function of diagnosis is to serve as a cue to treatment, while that of analysis is to better understand a condition by relating it to other conditions and these in turn to a more simple conception. The problem presented in the analysis of domestic discord is to describe a constant order or pattern in the relations between husband and wife, to correlate changes in relations between husband and wife with changes in the re-

lations between (1) the family as a unit and the social milieu, and (2) each individual and his personal social milieu. Since there may be some question as to whether or not all relations can be reduced to statistical forms, the alternative seems to lie in the direction of qualitative description of the characteristic ways in which husband and wife react toward each other in response not only to the behavior of the other, but in response to their social milieus as well. Once having made some differentiation of patterns in the terms suggested, diagnosis might proceed, but since such differentiation has not yet been made, the diagnostic process is likely to be related to common-sense conceptions.

To build up an analytical conception of domestic discord, first-hand materials must be available. Common-sense data fail to meet requirements. Interviews may be diagnostic, research, and treatment types, depending upon the purpose in mind. The treatment of domestic discord may be approached from either of two points of view: (1) as a social value, or (2) as a test of hypotheses.

The method of analysis which is acceptable in any sense is that which is useful. The direction of treatment from this point of view would be toward building up attitudes of accord by a process of verbalized control of the situation from both angles, outside pressures and forces and the relations within the marriage group. The chief emphasis would be placed upon covert behavior rather than upon overt responses.

THE USE OF COURSES IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF THE FAMILY IN TEACHER-TRAINING

J. L. HYPES, CONNECTICUT AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE

What are the unique functions that courses in the sociology of the family may render in the professional preparation of teachers? We here focalize upon teacher-training for service in vocational education in home-making. For such professional training, courses in the sociology of the family should perform the following educational services for the trainees: show the nature of the family as a functional institution; give insights to educational needs of important case types of families; emphasize organization and adaptation of subject matter and method to the solution of these educational needs; procure clearer concepts of standards of living; establish the basis for the development of a more adequate philosophy of vocational education than now exists in home-making; develop the scientific attitude. It must be freely admitted that much of the teaching of this subject has been amateurish and promotional. This fault is due, in part no doubt, to the limited experience in home-making on the part of teachers and to a lack of adequate professional preparation. In addition to general background knowledge, trainees for teaching positions in vocational education in home-making should do a certain amount of actual family

case-analysis work. For the making of such analyses the following points of consideration are suggested: (1) community social relationships of the family with many subheads of the institutional-interactional types; (2) social relationships within the family group, stressing economic, health, discipline, recreation, culture, and education.

All the foregoing objectives can do but little more than assist the trainees to sense the need for a critical philosophy and extended scientific investigation of a sociological nature.

THE CO-ORDINATION OF WOMEN'S INTERESTS AS A CONCRETE PROBLEM FOR THE FAMILY

ETHEL PUFFELL HOWES, SMITH COLLEGE

Two sharply contrasting tendencies are observable in the development of family life today, and are paralleled in trends of women's education. On the one hand the greatly increased attention to child care and development has led to emphasis on women's interests and obligations in the home and to insistence on "the profession of home-making." This has been accompanied by a tendency to turn what is essentially a vocational education for family life into the center and focus of all education for women.

On the other hand, the enormous extension of vocational and professional opportunities for women has led to an intensive training of individuals heretofore undreamed of, and to a pressure, from all motives, toward continuance in individual work at whatever sacrifice of family interest.

Here is material for a head-on conflict not only in educational theory but in the concrete decisions of family life as they flow from women's principles and affect women's activities. The actual existence of such conflict is the one patent fact in the lives of educated women today.

The Institute for the Co-ordination of Women's Interests at Smith College was founded on the principle that this conflict cannot be endured; that the only normal development for women assumes the fundamental necessity (and hence possibility) of a satisfactory marriage and home life *along with* the continued active employment of individual abilities. The Institute has concerned itself (1) with the historical, genetic, and psychological establishment of this principle, and (2) with the concrete methods by which *continuity* in the intellectual or professional life may be made psychologically sound, professionally feasible, and domestically practicable.

This has meant the study (1) of a large number of individual cases, (2) of the conditions of specific vocations making for "continuity," (3) of the more promising methods of household reorganization to the same end, both by research and demonstration; and finally, it has meant the working out of methods by which these conclusions, both as social principle and as concrete device may

become actually operative in the guidance of college undergraduates and adults.

The Institute demonstrations are now three in number: the co-operative nursery school, the home assistant service, and the cooked-food supply, all operating in the required manner to enable trained women to continue their individual work as a normal part of a satisfactory family life. Publications covering all these studies now number eight, with several others shortly to appear.

PARENTAL EDUCATION IN CLEVELAND COLLEGE

A. CASWELL ELLIS, CLEVELAND COLLEGE OF WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

Cleveland College was established mainly for the purpose of giving to adults part-time education at the college level and after the usual business hours. Parents, including college graduates, possess a smaller proportion of the varied knowledge that they need than does any other group. We decided, first, that the specific knowledge in each field needed by parents should be culled out of the many principles and techniques in these fields, and, second, that the presentation should be in non-technical language to parents *on the job*—each course to cover a semester with one two-hour meeting each week. The ten courses in the first year included health, dietetics, household administration, art, three child psychology groups, family relations (psychic), aims and principles of education for parents, and education in the home through recreation. In the second year three courses were added in fathers' problems, parent-teacher leadership, and a training course for volunteer group leaders in parental education. This program was made possible through the collaboration of numerous local experts from hospitals, colleges, art schools, and libraries. Three hundred of the total 350 students last year were parents from the more prosperous economic and social levels, one-third of whom were college or normal-school graduates. The courses represented serious college-grade study, but no compulsory work or examinations were involved, also no credit. Actual study results were good and about one-half took the examinations. Psychology courses were the most popular while classes in educational aims and education through recreation attracted very few. (The author admits inability to account for this.)

Scientists know more about the physical and mental makeup of children and about correct principles of handling them than the average parent can be induced to learn. There is pressing need now for investigation of the course of study and methods of teaching parents. This research will accomplish its purpose and have its value mainly when it reaches the parent in action.

THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN: A SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEM

ANNIE LOUISE MACLEOD, SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

The world today demands that the girl share equally with her brother in the duties of citizenship. Ambition, applause, fame are among her desires. Even daughters of the wealthy want to prove their earning power. In addition to the two-fold obligation of the man, wage-earning and citizenship, the woman must reckon with further obligations such as home-making, child-bearing, child-rearing, all of these without recognition comparable to that generally bestowed upon business or professional women. So long as home-making is the only profession for which no preparation is required; so long as home problems and college-girl needs are ignored or treated academically, so long will there be maladjustments including problem children, neurotic mothers, and divorced wives. It seems obvious that it is neither logical nor economically sound to educate girls extensively for life apart from home responsibilities and then thrust them unprepared into these duties. It is not easy to persuade either men or women that such an education as is needed is comparable to the conventional courses. Many men see little in home-making beyond the routine tasks, believing as they do that girls are born with natural aptitudes for such things.

Of the two present methods of reconciling women to the home, one is to clothe the matter with sentimentality. This could be done in the Victorian age, at least outwardly. The other method is frankly a compromise on the part of the dissatisfied woman. The advantage here seems to lie in the fact that the required double burden is assumed voluntarily and is not binding for life. The woman can follow a gainful pursuit outside the home, retain oversight over household activities, but delegate the actual performance of these to others.

To summarize the problems in women's education: Adapt the education of woman so that she may achieve happiness as individual, citizen, and family builder; establish a new set of educational values and eradicate the stigma of inferiority that surrounds the study of the home; find the approach through which the younger generation may find in this field satisfactory outlet for ambition and intellectual interests.

SECTION ON THE COMMUNITY

DIVISIVE FACTORS IN COMMUNITY CENTERS

MARIE G. MERRILL, BOARD OF EDUCATION, CHICAGO

There are certain problems in all community organizations. Desire for companionship in thought and action is common among all participants. The divisive factors include railroads and industrial sections, gangs and organizations (antagonistic to others, conceited), church groups, individual (too interested, too active), racial groups, foreign-born groups, and conflict between two generations. All groups are in need and all have something to give.

PROHIBITION AND GANGSTERS: A CHICAGO COMMUNITY STUDY

JOHN LANDESCO, AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CRIMINAL LAW AND CRIMINOLOGY

A historical study of the gangs participating in the beer wars discloses their existence long prior to prohibition. Leaders trained in the large-scale organized vice and gambling were especially adapted to the task of organizing the city for the purpose of carrying on the contraband beer and liquor business, and under an open-town administration created a city-wide alliance of gangs under a single overlord. The election of a reform mayor who broke the prestige of the leader created a situation of struggle between gangster chiefs and gave rise to the beer wars.

Gangs begin in the play life of the children of the neighborhood, and remain to function in the community. The process of succession and invasion is a phase of the growth of the city, and in the city, as among nations, is accompanied by conflict, accommodation, assimilation, amalgamation, and fusion. The gang's function lies in this conflict which can find its expression either in political self-determination or interracial war or in intercommunal war for an industry.

CONDITIONS OF COMPETENT CITIZENSHIP

SEBA ELDRIDGE, UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

The social environment conditioning the citizen's development is largely composed of family, play, vocational, and other primary groups whose interests and activities are preponderantly non-civic in character. The citizen's interest, activities, and abilities are shaped accordingly. The school, church, club, news-

paper, radio, and party balance the influences of those groups to some extent, but they have not succeeded in developing competent citizenship or in stimulating citizens to organize for the promotion of their interests. This is because these agencies reflect, in the main, the non-civic interests predominant in the community, and are themselves directed to special interests of the same category.

Certain deeply rooted cultural factors are largely responsible for this situation. These may be designated as (a) the work conception of welfare; (b) a handicraft conception of citizenship; (c) the schooling conception of education; (d) *laissez faire* conceptions in law, politics, and industry; (e) a cumbersome constitutional system, and (f) *lack* of the primary controls represented by the village community. These factors were adapted in varying degrees to the conditions under which they arose, but are seriously maladapted to present-day needs.

Various remedies have been proposed for our political ills, including the deficiencies of citizenship. These may be conveniently classified into the political, the economic, and the educational. The political include such measures as proportional representation, the short ballot, the initiative, referendum and recall, more democratic procedures for constitutional amendment, the realignment of political parties, and restoration of freedom of discussion. While some of these measures are valuable, they can contribute but little to the creation of competent citizenship, because they do not modify, except very slightly, the influences conditioning the citizen's development.

The economic remedies are various types of socialism, designed to establish industrial democracy and, as a consequence, political democracy as well. Analysis of the citizen's development, however, shows that these remedies would eliminate only certain economic factors in civic incompetency, but not various other factors that are quite as influential. Moreover, the adoption of those measures on a large scale may depend on competent citizenship as a necessary precondition.

The educational remedies are offered by various social-work, adult education, and community organization enterprises. Conceding the significance of these remedies, it may be pointed out that social-work procedures are largely limited, in practice, to problems not affected by powerful special interests, and are unadapted to the civic education of the masses; that adult education enterprises of the prevailing types are also of limited application in this field, owing to the impermanence of their student personnel and their lack of organic connection with practical civic affairs; and that community centers, councils and associations, while representing promising beginnings in the development of popular civic institutions, do not as yet furnish a model for the systematic, intensive activity, practical and intellectual, involved in competent citizenship.

Specifications for a new citizenship are offered.

A STEP TOWARD COMMUNITY DEFINITION

CLARENCE A. PERRY, RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

The current looseness in the use of the word "community" arises from the fact that it can be applied to such widely different types of populated areas. In view of such diversified physical conditions, it is not strange that the qualities of "community" life which are abstracted from them should also show wide variation. Thus "community organization" is a name that is given to the promotion of quite different social programs. All of the objectives given are important, but progress would be facilitated if each of them could be distinguished by an unambiguous name.

With a view to forwarding such definition and of promoting a certain type of community life, it is suggested that the urban elementary school district be given the specific name of "neighborhood community" and be subjected to a special program of study and promotive effort. The choice of this particular district signifies no underestimation of the municipal, rural, or other type of community. All types are equally worthy of study. It represents simply an attempt to fence off a particular part of the field of social investigation and to apply to it appropriate methods of study and effective forms of promotion.

It is understood that many existing city school districts do not exhibit conspicuous features of community life. On the other hand there are such districts in which there is a high degree of social integration. This very diversity makes it possible to correlate integration and other social attributes with various sets of physical conditions.

It is suggested that systematic studies be carried on respecting city school districts with a view to ascertaining, from the standpoint of definite social objectives, what are the favoring physical conditions as respects: (1) size of district both geographically and as to population; (2) relation to street system, especially main highways; (3) relation to public parks, playgrounds, and playfields; (4) what institutions belong to, and should be included within, the "neighborhood community"; (5) the location of the public school in reference to the district and the other neighborhood institutions; (6) the location of local shopping districts.

In the past we have had many descriptions of social achievements which have resulted from particular organization efforts. We need now most to know what are the social relations and voluntary associations indigenous to certain sets of specific hospitable physical conditions. Given the right size of district, street layout, and institutional equipment, what associations naturally flourish within it and to what degree will it exhibit the primary-group fabric of the traditional neighborhood? What, again, is the relation to such social attributes and products of homogeneity, racially, culturally, and economically?

With verified data upon these points from many neighborhood communities within our possession, we can then formulate more efficient programs to promote the desired social objectives.

The present is a propitious time for perfecting the physical description of a practicable neighborhood community. City planners want such a formula to use in laying out new residential subdivisions and in re-planning central slum districts. Zoners need it for the determination of local business districts. School authorities need it as a guide in locating school sites. The city engineers want it as a guide in laying down new express vehicular highways so as to lessen street accidents. There are many ways in which existing school districts could gradually be made to approximate the requirements of true neighborhood communities if their physical characteristics were definitely known.

Important social objectives, such as the reduction of delinquency, the improvement of civic and political processes, the co-ordination of park and school administrations, and the systematization of welfare-agency effort, would all be furthered by the emergence and growth of a typical urban neighborhood community. The first step toward such a development is the investiture of the desired concept with recognizable and practical clothes and the attachment to it of a significant name.

WHY I DROPPED OUT OF THE COMMUNITY MOVEMENT

JOSEPH K. HART, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

The fact that I am appearing on this program was not of my making; the subject I am to discuss was not of my choosing. Both were urged upon me by officers of this association, who seem to feel that certain acts of mine needed explanation, and probably defense. But I deny that I ever dropped out of the community movement, and I shall defend that denial under three specifications, to wit:

First, I did not drop out of the community movement—for the very good reason that I was never in it. True, I was employed several years ago, for a short time, by the War Camp Community Service. But I was only an employee. I was never on the inside. Hence, I could not drop out.

Second, I did not drop out of the community movement: I was thrown out. The things that were set for me to do did not seem worth doing; the things I wanted to do were regarded as wasteful of money. As usual in such cases, the organization went on, the individual found himself outside the walls, with unlimited freedom to do anything he thought worth while.

Third, I did not drop out of the community movement: I am still in it. All I have ever done, all I am now doing is community work. That's the reason why schoolmen do not understand it. All my books deal with community life; all my work as associate editor of the *Survey* was of this sort; my courses at the university are courses in community life and education. It is true that I do not belong to any community association, but neither does the American community. Hence, until such time as our communities are taken over by

some "community movement," so that interested men must get permission to do community work, I shall feel free to go on doing what I can to discover the secret springs of the greater American community, even though I have "dropped out of the community movement."

A STUDY OF THE DUFFERIN DISTRICT: AN AREA IN TRANSITION

PERCY A. ROBERT, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

The purpose of the study was to initiate a series of community studies at McGill University, and also to add one further test to the hypothesis of city growth, as suggested by E. W. Burgess. The object of study was a small district in the downtown section of Montreal, lying in the "zone of transition." The methods used were historical and observational; the writer being a "participant observer," the form was descriptive, or the reporting method.

The study was concerned with "transition." There were noted transitions in the relation of the district to the growth of the city as a whole, and also transitions in the district itself. Among the latter were recorded: (a) transitions in the population—both as regards the economic status and the nationalities of the residents; (b) transitions in the physical characteristics of the district, viz., changes in the topography and use of the land; (c) transitions in the social organization of the district—among the informal and formal institutions.

At present the institutions, both formal and informal (including native, imposed, and borderline institutions) show signs of disorganization. Even such an institution as vice shows such signs.

THE MOLOKAN COLONY IN LOS ANGELES (A STUDY IN THE URBANIZATION OF A SECTARIAN PEASANT GROUP)

PAULINE V. YOUNG, UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

The Russian Molokan colony in Los Angeles, though in many respects unique in its culture-complex and social organization, shows a variety of social problems and changes which are typical of immigrant communities upon contact with urban American life. The social background of the Molokans is that of religious sectarians, isolated in Russian agricultural villages, characterized by primary group organization. They refer to themselves as the "spiritual Christians of the sect of Holy Jumpers." Isolation and sectarianism assured them comparatively static conditions of life in Russia. In that milieu they appear to have fused into a "corporate person" and to have acted as a single body with a single will in a wide variety of undertakings.

In their Russian isolation they pondered over the "Holy Book of Wisdom" and based their teachings and practices almost literally on the Scriptures with

the result that every phase of life became an object of religious attention; hence their chief institutions are religious. They have attained considerable success in self-government and mutual aid under the leadership of their "elders."

The Molokans have brought to America a culture-complex and a set of psychosocial traits which condition not only the nature and extent of their participation in American life but the speed and character of the assimilation process of their American-born offspring.

Each generation live in a unique world of their own, characterized by "apperception mass" peculiar to their environment. We can discover several social orders within the Molokan colony. They may be regarded as constellations of social forces superimposed one upon another. Conflict is inevitable between these divergent orders. The old structure, lacking in the technique of secondary social organization, is gradually crumbling and losing its potency and nothing comparable is taking its place, and the new social order has not yet come into its own.

THE NEGRO COMMUNITY

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER, CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE

In this the writer sets forth in brief outline a method for studying the Negro community in cities as a relatively independent social world. The significance of the distribution of the Negro population in space is not only due to its relative segregation from the larger white community but also to the distribution of social and economic classes within the community. The history of the Negro community-likewise gives both an understanding of its changing relations to the white community and the changes which are taking place within the community. In order to determine how group life and controls are maintained the study of the Negro family is of primary importance. The family should be studied in relation to the stratification of the Negro community. Indices of family disorganization can be studied in relation to social and economic classes as a means of showing quantitatively their meaning in relation to social control. The organization of the Negro community with its peculiar institutions affords an understanding of group controls within the community, the significance of its social distinctions, and the processes by which the Negro's personality finds normal development.

THE CONTROL OF RACE RELATIONS IN THE COMMUNITY

NORMAN M. KASTLER

Lynching as a community problem.—Five-sixths of the lynchings since 1922 have occurred in towns of less than 6,000, and more than 60 per cent in towns of less than 3,000. Hence it is distinctly a problem of the small community. Traditional race attitudes are being modified by post-war conditions, and new pressure is being exerted on local group-controls. In the North, where Negroes were encouraged to fill the gaps of cheap labor caused by immigration restriction, we are beginning to lose our abstract idealism and realize that actual race contact begets vital problems in the community. The South has been aroused from its provincialism by the development of broader social horizons since the war. "Interests," which have recently sent capital southward, demand (among other things) a moderately healthy social condition to assure the stability of the labor supply.

Law and race relations.—Law is being suggested by many individuals and most organizations as a panacea for race problems. Strict enforcement of equitable law *does* act as a strong deterrent to crime, and would both govern Negroes justly and discourage potential lynchers among the whites. An appreciable proportion of lynching victims are taken from the custody of the law, and lynchers are seldom prosecuted and still more rarely convicted. Hence, violence in race relations probably would be greatly reduced if legal machinery were strengthened. This, however, raises practical problems: (1) law cannot be far in advance of popular morality without being ignored; (2) legal regulation of racial contact would soon become too cumbersome; (3) local enforcement of law is difficult to obtain where officials are dependent on votes of the citizens to retain offices. To regulate race relations by federal or even state action would require a machinery too expensive to be practical; (4) it would necessitate a thorough impersonalizing of police forces, hard to effect because most of the lynchings occur in small towns, where jails are not secure and officials are well known to members of the mob; (5) to secure coherent legal codes acceptable to all would be difficult. Legal regulation, which is likely to remain discriminatory, will intensify bad feeling and raise serious question of constitutionality, if made a primary issue.

Other agencies in race relations.—Hence, if we are to improve race relations, we must build up public morale. This can best be done by national church units and special national committees and organizations. At present, local agencies cannot take the initiative. Church dignitaries can furnish ideals; but the parish priest or minister dealing with individuals actually in contact with the problem must speak discreetly or see a "call" elsewhere. Local "good-will" groups are similar: practically, they can be no more effective than the attitudes of individual members of the group permit them to be. The press, with its non-committal "editorial we" perhaps can be more effective than either of the other groups, if carefully guided. It would seem best, therefore, that

the inspiration come from sources moderately removed from actual details of the problem. Local agencies can best be governed by local expediency, guided by larger viewpoints of outside groups. Eminent among the local problems of social and industrial relations, but unfortunately being overlooked by most writers and agencies, is the inadequacy of care for dependents, delinquents, and subnormal persons, especially among the Negroes of the South. It is an exceedingly important phase of race conflict, which must be recognized if the recent gains in good will are not ultimately to prove ephemeral.

LOCAL AUTONOMY IN RUSSIAN VILLAGE LIFE UNDER THE SOVIETS

KARL BORDERS, CHICAGO COMMONS

More real self-government manifest in the village than in any other local branch of the Soviet system. Built on traditions of ancient village "mir" and experience in limited activities of "zemstvo" of more recent years.

The place of the village in political and governmental system described. Recent trends in de-centralization throw burden of local development more directly on village.

The village soviet at work. A village election described. Local soviet operates through committees dealing with schools, health, roads, taxes, etc. Share in county and state burdens and aid allotted through local consultation. Courts, police, jails, and all restricting agencies marked by intimacy and simplicity.

Wide range of semipolitical and purely social and economic activities in every village community. Work of co-operatives, agricultural collectives, reading rooms, study groups, athletic and dramatic circles described. Communist party itself stimulates local expression in the Pioneer and Young Communist movements. Even Orthodox church, weakened in its hierarchy, becomes locally autonomous.

Communists share in most of these activities through more or less subtle process of infiltration. Local members and volunteers from larger centers expected to take active part in village movements as a duty.

Participation in local affairs broadly educational and will tend to increase peasant activity in larger affairs of the nation. Leadership at present inadequate. Educational plans involve training for local leadership through schools for peasant youth as well as higher educational institutions.

Success of the whole modern trend involves the enlightenment of great mass of unlettered peasantry burdened with incubus of centuries-old philosophy of "nichevo" ("it doesn't matter"). But beneath apparent inertia of the ancient village there is much movement and great hope.

THE COMMUNITY AREA AS THE UNIT FOR THE STUDY OF
ETHNIC ADJUSTMENTS

BESSIE BLOOM WESSEL, CONNECTICUT COLLEGE

Just as we are in general confronted with the need of bringing about a closer rapprochement between sociology and social work, so is the student of modern acculturation or of assimilation confronted with the need of building the community program upon an adequate and scientific analysis of the social processes involved.

The "community area" has been the regional and social unit for a number of investigations conducted as "The Study of Ethnic Factors in Community Life." This report is limited to a presentation of the concept of the *community area* as the working unit for the study of such adjustment. This approach follows inevitably from the growing realization that sociological studies are dependent primarily upon techniques and methodologies borrowed from the field of social psychology and cultural anthropology. It recognizes further that the analysis of any general problem or of social problems within a community depends upon the co-ordination of specialized techniques in the study of the same unit.

In the field of social work, the community and the survey are closely related concepts. The survey has always been applied to a community. The survey is a surface analysis of a situation in a given area. This does not exclude a historical introduction but on the whole the survey is horizontal in nature. The discussions centering around the community inevitably assume a geographic basis but the emphasis is upon certain social processes, either genetic in origin or socially controlled through telic program.

The use of the term "area" is in itself a recognition of indebtedness to the field of anthropology. We are concerned particularly with the concept of the *culture area*, and with the techniques for analyzing the existence or interrelation of cultural traits within an area. Investigation of social processes within an area involves going beyond the necessarily surface analysis of the survey. We must understand the genetics of the situation and the forces operating to produce a certain type of community.

To what pragmatic end? In order that the survey itself and the "community program" may have fuller meaning. Theories of "Americanization" leading to legislation or to incorporation programs must inevitably seek explanation of their data in study which the community area affords. The empirical and analytic techniques employed by ethnologists in the study of culture areas can be carried over bodily to the study of the modern community. This is possible even though the concept or the existence of the area was discovered by a different methodological approach. The community represents in concrete form the unit or base upon which ethnic research must be concentrated.

We are confronted with the practical problem of organizing such typical

studies. The difficulties are many, probably greater than those involved in the analysis of culture areas since the investigator is still on the defensive in establishing the need for such method. Also, no recognized organization exists for facilitating or indorsing such an approach.

America has no center or laboratory given over to developing a scientific methodology for a study of the acculturation of immigrants. Significant contributions have been made in one aspect or another of the subject by some of our leading universities. The ethnic groups themselves have literatures and techniques dealing with problems of ethnic adjustment. But on the whole all efforts so far have been in the nature of exploratory ventures. Sufficient demonstration, however, has been made that the community must be—and can be—the unit within which population changes are to be studied and through which processes of acculturation are to be comprehended. Mere recognition of the existence of “community” indicates of itself the pragmatic uses to which such investigations may be put.

THE FUNCTION OF JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN AMERICA

ALEXANDER M. DUSHKIN, BOARD OF JEWISH EDUCATION, CHICAGO

The Jews of America are engaged in a great variety of cultural, social, and philanthropic endeavors. The majority of them live in fairly well-defined neighborhoods and associate with each other in religious, fraternal, and recreational activities. Their many organizations deal with local, national, and international problems affecting the Jew. This community of interests and activities constitutes the Jewish community of America.

In evaluating these activities, one may consider them as passing phases of an immigrant civilization or view them, on the other hand, as the first steps in the development of a community which may, in time, exceed both in numbers and in influence any community hitherto known in Jewish history. This difference of viewpoint is of interest to individual Jews in regulating their own lives. However, it does not materially affect the proposition that there is a Jewish community in America which is likely to last for many years.

The character of this community life is difficult to define. The Jews have been variously defined as religious sect, race, nation, culture, civilization, international community, culture-nationality. The last term is nearest the Hebrew term *AM* (people), and indicates two essential elements: continuity of cultural tradition and the sense of kinship. The distinguishing characteristic of American Jewish group life is that it is part of a historic international family, with a definite family tradition and family kinship. In so far as Jews are conscious of their Jewishness at all, they are aware of the existence of this family tradition and feel this sense of kinship. The relation of Jew to Jew is that of members of the same family; the relation of Jew to non-Jew is that of

neighbors. The Jewish community is a family community; the American community is a community of neighbors.

The Jews preserve the family tradition, first, because it expresses existing needs in their lives; second, because they cannot easily become members of any other family; and, third, because they wish to maintain those values which have been handed down to them in their family. Some of these values are formal; others are ideological.

The cultural function of the Jewish community is to integrate Jewish personality, and to enlarge it. Jewish group life is not an end in itself, but a means to help the individual to understand universal reality and universal life.

SECTION ON THE SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION

REVIEW OF RESEARCH PROJECTS CONDUCTED DURING 1928

GALEN M. FISHER, INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS RESEARCH

The number of projects in the sociology of religion are increasing. Institutional surveys predominate, but measurement of outcomes is being attempted either by psychological techniques or in terms of adaptation to environment.

The early publication of the 1926 *Federal Religious Census* is of cardinal importance: an interpretation of it is one of the promising projects under way.

Among other notable projects in progress are Protestant co-operation in cities, the church as an employer of labor, preliminary study of theological education, Protestant benevolent giving, the controlling personnel in Protestant churches, and the psychology of religious organization.

There is evidence of firmer footing being gained for research in religious organizations. Training in survey and research is being introduced in colleges and seminaries for religious leaders. The technique in projects is markedly uneven, indicating the need for inductive handbooks on social research; one such published deals with the city church.

The discussion was led by Ernest W. Burgess.

TECHNIQUE OF SOCIAL CONTROL IN PROTESTANTISM

HEINRICH H. MAURER, LEWIS INSTITUTE, CHICAGO

American sociology has so far failed to see in the Christian a marginal type, in Christian-thinking a marginal technique of accommodation. It has not seen in institutional religion an integral part of the organismic pattern in terms of which groups, societies, institutions as well as individuals interact. Interested in social personality integration it has failed to take into account the whole telism involved in the process. It has not evaluated the significance for a given life-organization of its after-life plan. At all events, the symbolism of religion is a vital element in any environment: symbols are not mere symbols of action; they describe the gradients themselves of social interaction. A categorical set must be treated as a conditioner of the stimulus response equipment of a social body: it has the objectivity of an area of physiological dominance in a social organism and thus dominates the process of organic integration of environmental stimuli into its life.

Through the "Charisma," its theory of spirit agency, the Christian religion, even in its Protestant form, becomes a distributor of prestige and prejudice between man and man, man and his social objects. The relationship between prestige and prejudice between the relatively rational medium of spiritual discernment and natural reason is a case in point. So is the relative prestige of faith and law (due to an original alleged salvation and spirit agency). This basic relationship controls the layout of fields of interaction, gradients of contact, communication, conflict, accommodation, reconciliation, and assimilation between social bodies. In the field of social control, Christianity conditions personality rôle to prestige of faith or law. The preference of the one or the other form of Protestantism for the one, its prejudice against the other dominates the ascendancy of different social patterns, society concepts, the rivalry of different structural principles therein, and the forms of interaction between them.

This proposition is illustrated in the case of Calvin's and Luther's social patterns. The system of relationship prevailing therein dominates social relationships today in America: it accounts for attitudes and overt behavior of individuals, churches, and culture groups toward each other and toward the common institutional overhead. In the process of such interaction between groups, and in contact with new elements in the environmental situation, such as a situation between majority or minority, community or society, country and town, the ins and the outs, the pattern is being changed or modified. Relationships originally sanctioned by religion in a different environment collide with a new situation and decay or survive in proportion as they become obsolete automatisms or experience a "regeneration" in terms of readjustments, new accommodations, a new social technique, and new mechanisms of sublimation in terms of a new goal.

The discussion was led by Arthur L. Swift and Justin W. Nixon.

SOME PHASES OF RELIGION THAT ARE SUSCEPTIBLE OF SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY

ELLSWORTH FARIS, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

1. The ecological study of ecclesiastical organizations has been begun and should certainly be carried on extensively. The relation of churches to the distribution and movements of population is beginning to receive attention. There is a general knowledge that different denominations find their constituents in the members of certain classes, social, racial, and economic. The extent to which these factors are determinative, and particularly the effect of shifting populations in urban areas, is calculated to throw much light upon considerations not obviously related but really quite germane.

2. A sociological study of the origin and evolution of specific religious sects ought to be very fruitful in making us intelligent about how institutions arise and develop. The study of sects which have disappeared and of those whose birth was abortive would be highly instructive.

3. The study of social movements should include significant religious movements. It would be invaluable if we could have an adequate statement of the rise and development of the fundamentalist movement. There are social, racial, and economic aspects which do not at all appear in the controversial literature.

4. The relation between the collective aspect and the individual aspect of a group is of central importance. To what extent members of conservative groups are themselves conservative and the accurate statement of what Lutheranism really means to a Lutheran is capable of investigation by means of the tools in the hands of the social psychologist.

5. The psychology of conversion has long received the attention of students but there is yet much to be learned here.

6. Religious education is so vital an interest and is being studied by such an active group of men that it is included here merely for the sake of completeness. One aspect of this might receive overt mention. Certain groups rely on the parochial school; other denominations have placed their faith in the institutions of higher learning. Careful appraisal of the relative effectiveness of these two points of view would be worthy of the effort which it would involve.

7. A study of ecclesiastical integration would be valuable and timely. The various world-conferences and movements toward unity involve many forces which need more explicit statement.

8. From the mission field much valuable information could come. The sociologist is confident that no thoroughgoing transplanting of a culture is possible. The extent to which the resulting fusion is successful and the conditions which have led to reaction and rebellion on the part of native churches, very noticeably in Africa but present elsewhere, would give us much light on what we would like to know.

The discussion was led by Charles A. Ellwood and Herbert N. Shenton.

THE SECTION ON SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK¹

MAURICE J. KARPF, THE TRAINING SCHOOL FOR JEWISH SOCIAL WORK

In preparation for the meetings of the Section on Sociology and Social Work of the American Sociological Society of 1928, a questionnaire was sent out to all members of the society who indicated an interest in this section, asking their advice on subjects to be treated during the 1928 sessions and for suggestions as to persons who might be called upon to present papers as well as those who might discuss them. It was indicated in the questionnaire that those in charge of the program of this section were desirous of having the papers based on actual research which had been completed or was being carried on in the various fields. The response was whole-hearted and generous. It indicated an interest in the contributions which the two fields can make to each other which was far beyond the expectations of those immediately in touch with the section. As chairman of the section^{1a} the writer wishes to take this opportunity to express his appreciation and thanks to all those who replied. He also wants to take this opportunity to explain to those whose suggestions were not carried into effect that these same suggestions will be carefully considered again in preparing the program for 1929.

As a result of this questionnaire and the interest which was manifested in the papers presented in this section in December of 1927,² it was decided to continue the discussion on the topics which were treated in the 1927 meetings in so far as possible.

Four subjects were selected for presentation at the 1928 meetings. They were: (1) "Some Contributions of Sociological Theory to Social Work"; (2) "A Sociological Analysis of the Contents of 2,000 Social Case-Records with Special Reference to the Treatment of Family Discord"; (3) "A Study of the Social Case-Work Interview"; (4) "A Sociological Study of Parole."³ They were presented by Professor Earle Eubank, Professor Ernest R. Mowrer, Miss Joanna C. Colcord and Professor Ernest W. Burgess, respectively.

¹ See the *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXII (December, 1927), 275-81, for a summary of the first meetings of this section.

^{1a} The committee in charge of the Section on Sociology and Social Work consists of the following persons: Edith Abbott, Frank J. Bruno, Ernest W. Burgess, F. Stuart Chapin, James E. Cutler, Thomas D. Eliot, Maurice J. Karpf, Porter R. Lee, Stuart A. Queen, Jesse F. Steiner, and Arthur J. Todd.

² See *Social Forces*, Vol. VI, No. 4 (June, 1928).

³ The papers and discussions will again appear in a special issue of *Social Forces* in June, 1929.

The plan developed in 1927 of presenting one subject at a session with three or four prepared discussions was again followed. The aim was that a paper presented by a sociologist should be discussed by social workers and vice versa. Unfortunately the "flu," which was raging at about that time, interfered and several persons who had undertaken to discuss papers were prevented from doing so at the last moment. This, however, did not prevent our having a series of stimulating papers and discussions.

Professor Eubank based his paper on his belief that theory and practice in any field are mutually dependent upon one another; that sound practice must be based on sound theory, and that the validity of theory must be demonstrated by practical application. This is no less true in social work, according to him, than in the other professions, and sociology and social work have increasingly converged. He holds that thus far sociology has contributed most to social work in its capacity as a gatherer of data, as a fact-finder, but that it has a much larger contribution to make through its theory, and particularly by means of the concepts which it has evolved for the analysis of human situations. He cited several cases taken from actual case-records by way of illustrating how such analysis can be made, emphasizing what he considered to be the sociological concepts used in the analysis and their value for a better understanding of the problems involved. He concluded his paper with a formulation of nine "principles," which he thought are pertinent to social work practice and which are based on sociological theory. Briefly stated they are:

1. Human life is necessarily group life.
2. . . . It is from the groups of which one is a part, that he mainly derives his attitudes toward life. -
3. Once a person becomes a member of a group he becomes in a very definite way subject to its control.
4. The degree of control which the group exercises over a person, other things being equal, will be in proportion to his degree of "oneness" with the group.
5. The most effective method by which socially conditioned behavior can be modified, therefore, is that of changing the character of the group that exercises control over the individual, or by accomplishing his assimilation into some other group which has the desired character.
6. Assimilation of an individual by a group is in direct proportion to this degree of sympathetic participation in its life and thought.
7. What sort of a person one is in any group depends upon the status that he holds within it, and the rôle he there plays.
8. . . . Communications must be conducted within the range of the universe of discourse which he understands, and with which he has sympathy.
9. . . . Whatever solutions are worked out for reorganized behavior must be of a sort that will permit an interest-satisfying function.

This paper was to be discussed by Thomas J. Riley, general secretary, Brooklyn Bureau of Charities; Amelia Sears, assistant general superintendent, United Charities of Chicago; Pauline V. Young, who has been carrying

on some very interesting pieces of research bordering on social work and sociology in and near Los Angeles, and Jesse F. Steiner, of Tulane University. Anticipating the usual attack on sociology by social workers the program was so arranged as to give the social workers the opportunity to have their say first and give Professor Steiner, who was to be the last of those who were to prepare their discussions, an opportunity to renew what was thought might, by then, be a waning faith and confidence in the contribution of sociological theory to social work.

Dr. Riley's paper did not arrive until the following day. But even if his paper had been read it would have proved to be, on the whole, rather favorable toward the thesis of the main paper. While he questioned the right of sociology to claim the concepts enumerated, solely as its own, on the ground that a careful checking up of their meaning and origin in a standard dictionary did not reveal them to be sociological concepts at all (in fact their sociological significance or meaning was not even mentioned by the compilers of the dictionary), an inquiry among the fifty social workers in his organization revealed the interesting fact that these terms had very definite meanings to the social workers, especially the younger ones, who are college graduates and who had courses in sociology while at college. He concluded, therefore, that these concepts have value for social work and that there is a greater degree of interrelation between the two fields than he had supposed. He even went so far as to say that "these concepts are gaining a place in the current literature and are rendering a valuable service to social work." This, coming from a man who not so long ago believed that the two fields had little or nothing to contribute to each other, would have been encouraging indeed.

Mrs. Young stressed the value of Dr. Eubank's approach for the development of a scientific social work, and Miss Sears was very complimentary to the main paper in an extemporaneous discussion. The writer, who presided at the meeting, was, frankly, somewhat disappointed because the meeting threatened to be so peaceful and so harmonious that it would result neither in heat nor light. For, it is his belief that at the present stage of thinking on this subject, a great deal of discussion is necessary for light. Such discussion is not likely to be stimulated by agreement.

But the meeting was not destined to close so peacefully, and Dr. Eubank was not to go unchallenged. Professor Steiner read his prepared discussion of the main paper and his discussion provided both heat and light. The objections which might have been raised by social workers he raised, only, coming as they did from him, a sociologist and insider, so to speak, they took on added weight and special significance. After saying that Dr. Eubank's attempt was more ambitious than most attempts along these lines, he proceeded to question the wisdom, adequacy, and applicability of the conceptual approach for a successful treatment of this subject. Social workers, he holds, do not have the necessary preparation, at this time, to be able to use the concepts either developed

or used by sociologists, in a meaningful or helpful way. Moreover, the concepts outlined in the main paper were not limited to sociology and some of them had been appropriated by social workers from other fields and are used by them in other than their sociological connotations. He paid his respects to the "principles" enumerated by Dr. Eubank as likely to appear to the social worker, "more like highly technical statements of the obvious than scientific conclusions made possible by sociological investigation." At best they "may be acceptable to the social worker without strengthening the case for sociology." He emphasized the absence of sharp differentiations between the different social sciences at the present time and the need for a social technology to work out the applications of the various sciences. The sociologist should not be burdened with the need of proving the value of sociology to social work or any other field. But if that must be, then, according to him, some other than the method used must be found for doing this and he indicated what this method might be.

The harmony was disturbed! If diversity of point of view is necessary for creative discussion, there was no longer much danger of the meeting, or the subject which was being discussed, suffering from the want of stimulation. This was actually the case. In the discussion from the floor which followed, led by Mr. Lurie, sociologists and social workers differed as to what social work could expect from sociology and how these expectations could be realized. After the meeting was adjourned, a number of persons expressed themselves as desiring to have the subject continued again next year. Some suggested a symposium on the subject rather than a single paper with discussions, on the ground that such treatment would result in suggestions which might be fruitful for further study and possible research.⁴

The next meeting was held the following morning, with Frank J. Bruno as chairman; Dr. Mowrer of Northwestern University read his paper on "A Sociological Analysis of the Contents of 2,000 Social Case Records with Special Reference to the Treatment of Family Discord." This paper, based on research conducted by Dr. and Mrs. Mowrer, was a continuation, in a sense, of two papers presented at last year's meetings, i.e., "What Social Case Records Should Contain to be Useful for Sociological Research," by E. W. Burgess, and "Some Sociological Suggestions for Treating Family Discord by Social Workers," by E. R. Groves.⁵ After outlining briefly the history of family welfare agencies to which, incidentally, some very decided objections were raised, he went on to say that a survey of methods of treating domestic discord by case-work agencies reveals the following eleven techniques: (1) the court of domestic relations, (2) birth-control or sex-hygiene instruction, (3) medical examination, (4) psychiatric examination, (5) drink cure, (6) order-

⁴ The writer will be happy to receive suggestions from interested persons for the treatment of this and other subjects at the meetings to be held next December.

⁵ See *Social Forces*, VI, No. 4 (June, 1928), 524-32, 569-77.

ing and forbidding, (7) autosuggestion, (8) persuasion, (9) housekeeping instruction, (10) extradition, and (11) conference. The most widely used method, according to him, is that of the court of domestic relations. But the trend is toward the more direct techniques, the most important of which are persuasion, ordering and forbidding, and conference. The essence of the ordering-and-forbidding technique he gave as "coercion." Gradually, however, the persuasion technique is assuming a more important rôle. But the results are not all that might be hoped for. According to him, all the direct methods of case work imply a rationalistic psychology and need to be either discarded or revamped. It is necessary, also, to place greater emphasis upon the covert behavior of the individuals as over against the overt. He sees the problem of the social worker dealing with domestic difficulties as that of ferreting out the hidden meanings of the overt conflict and to reinterpret the situation to the individuals concerned. This process calls for suggestion and displacement rather than persuasion. He concluded by saying that the trend in the treatment of domestic discord is in the direction of more experimentation and that domestic discord clinics in which various approaches might find expression would be of great benefit.

This paper was followed by prepared discussions by Elizabeth Dutcher, secretary of the Service and Relief Committee of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, Dorothy C. Kahn, superintendent of the Jewish Welfare Society, of Philadelphia, and Frances E. Price, of the department of sociology and social work of the University of Louisville.

In many ways this was the liveliest of the meetings held by the section this year. Dr. Mowrer was outspoken and vigorous in his attack on the methods in vogue among social workers in the treatment of domestic discord. Attack calls for defense, and the social workers came to the defense with all the weapons at their command. Unfortunately, Dr. Mowrer did not incorporate in his paper the basis for his generalizations. Perhaps this was impossible for him in a paper the length of which was necessarily limited. The lack of such factual and objective data opened his paper to criticism on a number of grounds which were promptly utilized. Miss Dutcher took issue with the discussion of the historical as well as the methodological aspects of his paper. She insisted that the ordering and forbidding technique is characteristic of the courts of domestic relations rather than the case-work agencies, that the latter are flexible and emphasize the character-building rather than the coercive type of approach. If the case worker uses this method at all it is under pressure "to get things done." Modern case work has redefined the "helpable and non-helpable" in terms of "operable and non-operable" from the standpoint of whether the case worker's method is likely to be productive of the desired results. It is interested in and aims at developing personality rather than in repressing it. In concluding her remarks, she raised the question whether such specialization as is implied in the suggestion of a special clinic to deal with

domestic difficulty cases is justified and whether such conflicts are not simply a manifestation of personality difficulties which should be treated by those best prepared to treat them regardless of what the specific difficulty presented at the moment may be.

Miss Kahn concerned herself in her discussion with different aspects of Dr. Mowrer's paper. To begin with, she questioned the adequacy of the material, the case-records, which he used for his investigation, pointing out that in the discussion at the meetings during 1927, notably with regard to the paper on "What Case-Records Should Contain to be Useful for Sociological Interpretation," it was pointed out that case-records at the present time are by no means ready for such investigation and that the conclusions to be drawn therefrom should be carefully weighed before any validity is attached to them. She then went on to say that case workers would quarrel with the eleven techniques isolated by him; that some techniques which case workers have been using to the exclusion of many others are not even mentioned by him. So far as the high percentage of court cases is concerned, that in her judgment is no fair index of the case worker's method, because it may merely be an indication of the state in which these cases are when they come to the family case-work agency. There is at the present time, according to her, a very hopeful change in attitude on the part of the public—many incipient cases of domestic difficulty coming to the attention of agencies with high adjustment possibilities as compared with the situation as it was formerly. This would mean also, in her judgment, that a study of cases as they were handled in the past is no true index of what the situation is at the present and what it may be in the future. She emphasized the fact, therefore, that before Dr. Mowrer's conclusions can be accepted some of these items should be allowed for. In fact, she suggests that the original material on which his study was based, if examined by persons familiar with case-work procedure, might prove that the challenge which he threw out is not so serious a challenge to the effectiveness of case work. She suggested, furthermore, an "emotion-driven bias" on his part in isolating the different techniques which he names and suggested some substitute techniques. She concluded with a statement to the effect that such a clinic as he suggests would be unwise and probably ineffective because one aspect of family life cannot be isolated from all the others and studied or treated successfully. She suggested, rather, studies of normal and successful family life as most likely to yield valuable information.

Dr. Price was the next person to discuss Dr. Mowrer's paper. She, too, emphasized the inadequacy of present case-records for research and the danger of isolating one problem in so complex a situation as family life for study and treatment without taking into account at the same time, its relation to all the other problems in the complex. In her opinion one of the most important concepts for social workers is that of "social process." Before any adequate treatment and studies of such treatment can be made, this concept will have to be

recognized by case workers and included in their records. She reported also on a study aiming to develop a standardized family case-record based on an examination of 178 case-records for the purpose of determining whether case-records deal with sufficiently uniform material and in a sufficiently uniform way to be valuable for research purposes. Her conclusion from this study was that they did not contain the same or similar data to a sufficient degree to justify any very elaborate study. On the basis of this study, however, she felt that the social relationships which are at bottom of a great many maladjustments are not visualized at the present time in case-records; that the personalities of those treated by family case workers will have to be given greater consideration than is at present the case before any really significant studies can be made.

The meeting was well attended and there was a great deal of discussion of the paper from the floor. Some of those who participated in the discussion were Miss Joanna C. Colcord, general secretary of the Family Welfare Association, of Minneapolis, Edwin G. Eklund, director, Council of Social Agencies, Springfield, Illinois, Mr. Harry Lurie, superintendent of the Jewish Social Service Bureau, of Chicago, Paul L. Benjamin of the Family Service Organization, of Louisville, Kentucky, Walter W. Whitson, superintendent of the Houston Social Service Bureau, Houston, Texas, and Mr. Ferris F. Laune, director of the Wieboldt Foundation, under whose auspices Dr. Mowrer made the study on which his paper was based. Some took up the cudgels for Dr. Mowrer's findings; others felt that his study was incomplete, full of generalizations too hastily drawn on inadequate material, and that case-records should be studied by case workers who have the necessary background. Still others felt that case workers could not go on claiming that none but the initiated can study case-records; that the time would come when this would no longer be acceptable as an excuse for ineffective case work brought to light through studies made by outsiders, especially since case workers themselves have not done much to develop either the source material for investigation or significant studies which would present in a satisfactory manner what the case worker does and what she accomplishes. Some of the calmer spirits in the audience pointed out that if case work is to continue to receive the support from the public which it demands and if indeed case work is to develop along sound methodological lines, it will have to be ready to meet the challenge which objective and disinterested students will bring to it and that it will have to equip itself to meet this challenge successfully.

A luncheon meeting was held on the same day, under the chairmanship of Professor James E. Cutler, at which Joanna C. Colcord, of the Family Welfare Association, of Minneapolis, read a paper on "The Social Case Work Interview." This was a continuation of the discussion of this subject begun at the 1027 meetings with Stuart Queen's paper on "Social Interaction in the Inter-

view."⁶ Miss Colcord's paper was based on a study of the techniques of interviewing, conducted for two years by a Committee of the Twin City Chapter of the American Association of Social Workers.

Accepting the interview as one of the major tools of the social case worker, it becomes necessary to develop interviewing skill in the young case worker. Before it can be successfully taught it must first be resolved into its simplest forms, and its procedure must be analyzed step by step. This was the aim of the Committee. The ultimate aim of the Committee, however, was to supply the dearth of teaching material. Miss Colcord outlined the method adopted by the Committee as consisting of studies of recorded interviews with the intention of isolating what seemed to be *purposeful attempts* on the part of the case worker to influence the interviewee. They gave names to these techniques, in order that they might be identified when the same or similar techniques were again encountered, and then proceeded to group and classify them with the result that they could differentiate between (a) "purposes," (b) "processes," and (c) "techniques." The Committee now recognizes four main *purposes* in the interview: (1) to put the interviewee at ease; (2) to establish confidence of interviewee in the agency; (3) to obtain pertinent information and insight, and (4) to bring about action and understanding on the part of the interviewee.

The *processes* for accomplishing these purposes, though not yet completely listed, are: (1) lessening emotional tension; (2) helping difficult admissions; (3) temporizing; (4) bringing or keeping to main issue; (5) use of reason and logic.

She named almost twenty techniques which may be grouped under these processes. She listed the processes and their respective techniques as follows:

1. Techniques for lessening emotional tension :
 - (a) Hostess-guest; (b) flattery; (c) joking; (d) using client's phraseology
2. Techniques for helping difficult admissions :
 - (a) Minimizing seriousness of a situation; (b) sharing personal experience
3. Techniques for temporizing :
 - (a) Encouraging reminiscence; (b) self-subordination; (c) avoiding client's lead; (c) non-committal queries
4. Techniques for bringing or keeping to main issue :
 - (a) Closing avenues of digression; (b) asking direct question; (c) yes-response; (d) cards on the table
5. Techniques for using reason and logic :
 - (a) Analyzing a general statement into specific parts; (b) introducing a general for a specific consideration; (c) anticipating ultimate outcome; (d) balancing alternatives.

She pointed out that some of these techniques may be used for more than one process and presented a sample interview illustrating the purposes, processes, and techniques.

⁶See *Social Forces*, VI, No. 4 (June, 1928), 545-58.

This paper was discussed by Professor Stuart A. Queen, of the University of Kansas, Colonel Walter V. Bingham, director of the Personnel Research Federation, and Mr. Clifford R. Shaw, research sociologist of the Institute for Juvenile Research in Chicago.

Dr. Queen, who has done some important and significant work on the interview, to which reference has already been made, began his discussion with a tribute to Miss Colcord and her Committee for what he termed an important contribution to the study of the technique of the interview. This contribution he thought was in the differentiation between purpose, process, and technique, and in giving names to the latter. He then raised a number of questions with regard to the exclusiveness of the three phases of the interview and the validity of their names, pointing out that the processes which the Committee thought it had isolated were by no means as simple as they thought but are rather complex in their nature and partake of the three phases. He questioned also the objectivity of the description and indicated that the Committee failed to take into account the importance of the "conversation of gesture." This, he felt, should have been included in the study because it frequently stimulates questions and response and in this way influences the "conversation of words." He ended his discussion by saying that he believed that the work of the Committee provides some important leads for the continuation of the work on the interview which his Committee of the Kansas City Chapter has been doing.

Colonel Bingham, in his discussion of the paper, emphasized the need for the fullest possible record of the analyzed interviews, which should at the same time be free from interpretation. Also, that the background of the interview should be given, otherwise the analysis is likely to be inadequate. He stressed the importance of separating from the contents of the interview subjective judgments of the value of the steps taken in the interview. He stressed also the importance of clear and precise definition of terms used for accurate analysis. He spoke of a number of experiments which the Personnel Research Federation has made in interviewing for fact-finding purposes in industrial disputes. The interviews were so conducted as to evaluate such factors as sex, experience, background, and status of the interviewer. He, too, felt that Miss Colcord and her Committee had performed a valuable and worth-while service.

Mr. Shaw had been unable to prepare a written discussion owing to illness. He discussed the paper extemporaneously, however, and brought out some important items which should be considered in the analysis of interviews. Such items as the interinfluence of interviewer and interviewee, the setting, whether the interviewer is alone with the interviewee or others are present, emotional tensions, and the interviewee's own language are all important items to be taken account of in studying interviews.

The meeting was well attended and a rather lively discussion from the floor developed. Some persons objected to the method used by the Committee

on the ground that some procedures were unethical and others seemed to talk down to and bully the client. Others questioned whether studies of the interview should not also include studies of its effectiveness in terms of success and failure of the interviewer to influence the interviewee. This led to the next question, with regard to the time element in such success and failure, it being pointed out that success may be immediate and followed by failure in the long run. Also, that failure may be temporary and may result in success ultimately. However, those who were present felt that another important step in the analysis of the interview and its processes had been taken.

The fourth and final meeting of the section was held on Friday morning, December 28, with Professor Gillin as chairman. Professor Ernest W. Burgess, of the University of Chicago, read a paper on "Is Prediction Feasible in Social Work?" This paper was based on a study of 3,000 cases of parole in three penal institutions in Illinois. It was the result of a long-time interest which Professor Burgess has had in prediction on the basis of scientific investigation. After saying that very few such studies have been made in social work which would be comparable to those made in other fields, notably in medicine and engineering, he went on to say that the opportunity to analyze the factors which seemed to determine the success or failure of men placed on parole presented itself in connection with a study of "The Workings of the Indeterminate Sentence Law and the Parole System in Illinois." This analysis was based on an examination of the available materials in the records and did not include the gathering of any new or original data. On the basis of the material available, the observance or the violation of parole was studied in relation to the following twenty-one points: (1) nature of offense; (2) number of associates in committing offense for which convicted; (3) nationality of inmate's father; (4) parental status, including broken homes; (5) marital status of the inmate; (6) type of criminal, whether first offender, occasional offender, habitual offender, professional criminal; (7) social type, as ne'er-do-well, gangster, hobo; (8) county from which committed; (9) size of community; (10) type of neighborhood; (11) resident or transient in community when arrested; (12) statement of trial judge and prosecuting attorney with reference to recommendation for or against leniency; (13) nature and length of sentence imposed; (14) portion of sentence actually served before parole; (15) previous criminal record of the prisoner; (16) his previous work record; (17) his punishment record in the institution; (18) his age at time of parole; (19) his mental age according to psychiatric examination; (20) his personality type according to psychiatric examination, and (21) psychiatric prognosis.

This made it possible to compare the likelihood of any man violating his parole with the average violation of 1,000 men in each institution with respect to any one or more of these twenty-one points. On this basis all the cases were grouped into nine classes, with the following as the expectancy

rate of parole violation: Class A, 1.5 per cent; Class B, 2.2 per cent; Class C, 8.8 per cent; Class D, 15.1 per cent; Class E, 22.7 per cent; Class F, 34.1 per cent; Class G, 43.9 per cent; Class H, 67.1 per cent, and Class I, 76 per cent.

It was Professor Burgess's thesis that this or some similar method of predicting behavior can be applied to any field of social work or human behavior provided fairly accurate and complete data are available. This method has both scientific and practical value. It opens up a new method for the prediction of human behavior in the realm of sociological research and provides at least one method for testing the efficacy of present procedures in social work as well as judging the merit of new techniques.

The meeting at which this paper was read was a joint session of the Section on Sociology and Social Work of the American Sociological Society and the Committee on Social Statistics of the American Statistical Association. Four persons were asked to prepare discussions of Dr. Burgess's paper, Lewis E. Lawes, warden of Sing Sing Prison in New York state, Edwin J. Cooley, chief probation officer, Court of General Sessions, New York City, Stuart A. Rice, of the department of sociology of the University of Pennsylvania, and Robert W. Burgess, chief statistician of the Western Electric Company. It was natural that Warden Lawes, as a result of his long-time interest in what he considers a humanitarian approach to the problem of treating offenders against society, should be skeptical of any such approach as that which was indicated in the main paper. To him it held out possible dangers of a reversion to former methods of mass treatment of prison inmates. After emphasizing the difference between physical and social data, with regard to scientific treatment for purposes of prediction, that the one is non-variable and the other highly variable, he asked whether attempts at segregation of groups and mass treatment might not lead back to former views on punishment and away from modern views on penology. He stressed the inadequacy of the twenty-one factors which this study isolated, as not including the totality of the person, his social environment, his motives, his emotion, and so on. He compared some of the specific findings and the discrepancies between the three penal institutions studied, with his own experience, and suggested that the inadequacy of examining personnel for the study of the inmates of penal institutions may be responsible for a great many of these discrepancies. This would imply that information in most penal institutions at the present time is not sufficiently accurate and complete to justify conclusions such as this study seemed to make possible. It seemed to him, therefore, that conclusions based on studies of such records are unsafe if not dangerous. Hence he was reluctant to accept the value of prediction of violations based on such studies as a guide for admitting offenders to parole, although he thinks such predictions might have value for indicating the need for modifying parole practices and supervision.

It was interesting to compare this view of the study with that which Mr. Cooley took of it. The latter commended Professor Burgess on the study and

findings in most enthusiastic terms, pointing out the value of the study and the validity of its findings to various aspects of social work. He stressed the fact that adoption of the procedure which Professor Burgess formulated would lead to greater emphasis on study of records of individual offenders and would provide data which would make expectancy tables possible. Such tables would be of the utmost value to the judge, prison officials, parole authorities, and probation officers.

The next two discussions dealt with the more technical, statistical aspects of the study. Dr. Robert W. Burgess, in speaking on "The Rôle of Subclassification in Statistical Analysis," suggested several modifications of the statistical procedure which would correct some weaknesses which he thought the method used presented. On the whole, however, he thought the method sound, the conclusions valid, and that the study in its entirety was a genuine contribution to the literature in the field as well as to methodology.

Dr. Rice spoke of several studies in which statistical methods similar to that of Professor Burgess had been used in other fields of social relations, thus indicating that the method used by Professor Burgess is one which other investigators had used before him—this by way of emphasizing the validity of the method rather than of detracting from the value of the contribution which Professor Burgess had made. He pointed to certain dangers in the use of the data because of the probability of subjective biases in accumulating information based on classification of types. He suggested that some of the factors studied may have been selected merely because they were available in the records—thus acquiring an importance which they might otherwise not have. Different records or a different type of supervision might yield different results. While he thought the method sound and valid, he thought that the greatest possible care should be exercised in using it in gathering social data of this type.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing was written some time after the meetings so that it was possible for the writer to acquire a good deal of perspective on the problems which he faced in planning and arranging the meetings, the meetings themselves, the papers which were presented, the discussions both prepared and extemporaneous, and the spirit which was observable during the meetings. Space will not permit an extensive discussion of all of these items. It seems proper, however, that something should be included in this statement on the foregoing items.

First, with regard to the planning and arranging of the meetings, the method used for obtaining papers and discussions was briefly outlined in the beginning of this paper. It was the aim of the Committee to avoid, if possible, calling upon the same people who had presented papers or who had had discussions during the meetings of 1927. Among the reasons for this was the desire, on the part of those who are close to the Section, to have as wide a repre-

sentation as possible so as to arouse interest in the possible contributions of sociology and social work on the part of as many people as could be interested. Besides that, however, there was the desire of getting the stimulation which it was felt might come from those who had not been on the inside, so to speak. But important as these and other reasons were for not including persons who had been on the program the previous year, it was not possible to avoid it altogether. This was owing to the fact that the number of people now interested in sociology and social work, with a sufficiently adequate knowledge of both fields to be able to participate in the discussion on a high level, is not large, and also because it was desired to have papers based on actual pieces of research. Unfortunately there are not many people carrying on research in this field. This explanation is not made here as an apology for including those persons who appeared on the program the previous year. Their contributions are such as to need no apology. It is included, however, because it is the writer's desire to point out the limitations under which any effort of this kind must be conducted at the present time, in the hope that persons who are not now actively working on the relation between sociology and social work but who have the necessary equipment will become interested in this Section and will do their share for the development of a constructive and helpful literature on the subject.

The spirit of the meetings was excellent. This was the writer's observation as well as the observation of other interested persons. The discussions were frank, heated in spots to be sure, but indicative of a desire on the part of all concerned to get as much light and help as could be obtained. There was less skepticism apparent than in the previous year. The writer believes that it is fair to say that last year's meetings were looked upon as a curiosity: this year's meetings were taken for granted as are the other sections and divisions of the American Sociological Society. They were looked upon by some of the sociologists and social workers, especially those who are informed on the history of the development of science and its applications, as a significant and important effort at bringing to social work the benefits which the developments in one of the important social sciences can yield to a new profession. There is no longer much doubt on the part of those who have the necessary knowledge that with sociology developing, as it is, a scientific methodology, and with social workers becoming better and better informed on what sociology is and what it is aiming at, these meetings will become an important influence in the development of both fields. The greatest need at the present time is continued sociological research and a willingness on the part of social workers to equip themselves for a critical but objective consideration of the offerings of sociology and the other social sciences.

One of the aspects of this year's meetings which troubled some of those who are interested in this Section was the fact that social workers came to the meetings of this Section but did not attend many of the other meetings. If this

observation is correct, then it would seem to indicate that one of the purposes in the development of this Section is not being realized, namely, securing the interest of social workers in sociology itself. This may have been owing to the fact that the Section on Sociology and Social Work had four sessions concentrated in three days. It may seem desirable, therefore, to have only two or three sessions next year so as to give social workers an opportunity to attend some of the other meetings, in order to become better acquainted with sociology per se.

COMMITTEE ON TEACHING SOCIAL STUDIES IN THE SCHOOLS

THE SEMINAR IN SOCIOLOGY

E. H. SUTHERLAND, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, AND FLOYD N. HOUSE,
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

The Committee on the Teaching of Sociology and of Social Studies in the Schools for the year 1928 was composed of E. H. Sutherland (chairman), J. M. Gillette, and C. C. North. The function of this Committee is to conduct, as a part of the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, a luncheon conference on problems of teaching sociology. In earlier years this conference has been concerned either with the social science course in high schools or the introductory course in sociology in colleges and universities. The topic selected for discussion this year was "The Seminar in Sociology." Professor C. C. North started an investigation of seminar methods used by departments of sociology but because of sickness was unable to complete it. Professor House completed the report and presented it to the conference.

Several questions were raised prior to the discussion, to which it was hoped that partial answers could be secured either in the investigation or the discussion: the purpose, or objective, of the seminar as contrasted with other graduate courses, the methods of selection of registrants, the methods of conducting class meetings, the desirability of unity in the problems assigned, the desirability of a co-operative departmental seminar, the desirability of separating first-year graduate students from second- and third-year graduate students for seminar courses, the desirability of extending seminar methods to advanced undergraduates.

Replies were received from ten institutions, all of which except Washington are located in the North Central states. The number of seminars per institution varies considerably; Minnesota has six, Wisconsin four, Chicago and Washington two each; Michigan, Indiana, and Northwestern one each; each member of the graduate staff in Missouri and Iowa may offer a seminar; Ohio has a departmental seminar in the fall quarter, after which the registrants are separated into individual seminars for work on theses.

Two principal types of organization of seminars appear: departmental seminars in which several members of the staff participate, and seminars under the direction and guidance of one member of the staff. Five departmental seminars were reported from the ten institutions; individual seminars were re-

ported from seven institutions. Seminars of these two types carry on six kinds of work: (1) a formal course in methods of social research, apparently not greatly different from a lecture course; (2) reading assignments and reports on special topics; (3) development of specific research projects by group discussion and reports of progress on the same to the group (these projects are most frequently theses but in some cases theses are not permitted to be used for seminar research purposes); (4) specific research projects developed in consultation between the student and the instructor with no class meetings; (5) development of a unified research project with work shared by all members of the seminar (the joint product may constitute a book or an article, in some cases the student's work is largely clerical); (6) a discussion group before which are presented for discussion and criticism projects developed elsewhere, including reports on current literature.

The replies received from departments of sociology give little information regarding methods of selection of registrants except that seminars are customarily restricted to graduate students. First-year graduate students are not admitted to the seminar in sociology in the University of Chicago.

The discussion in the conference centered on the following recent statement of Professor Woodbridge, dean of the graduate faculties of Columbia University: "These seminars and research courses are not designed for the benefit of students. They are designed for the purpose of getting certain investigations done." The following questions were raised regarding this statement: May the effect on students be completely disregarded? Is it justifiable to use graduate students throughout a year on purely clerical work? If exploitation of students exists, will it not correct itself by refusal of students to register for a course?

The investigation and discussion revealed a relatively chaotic condition in seminar methods. The traditional seminar, of German origin, is now seldom found. Courses which approach the seminar method are sometimes called seminars and sometimes not called seminars. Graduate courses in general fall into the following classes: Lecture courses on special topics, discussion classes with emphasis on research and independent study, individual direction of research without group meetings, and discussion clubs (including "journal clubs" and some departmental seminars).

Before the questions raised prior to the conference can be answered it is necessary to answer other questions: To what extent should the time of graduate students be left free for independent reading? To what extent should candidates for advanced degrees be expected to be acquainted with the literature of sociology? What proportion of the time of graduate students and instructors should be devoted to formal courses and what to individual conferences on research projects? Is it possible to teach research methods to advantage in a formal course?

REPORTS OF REPRESENTATIVES AND COMMITTEES OF THE SOCIETY

THE COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL RESEARCH

The annual census of current research projects was carried out by sending in March to every member of the Society a questionnaire. The form had been amended in several particulars to render it more serviceable to division chairmen, and carbon copies of project reports were requested to facilitate program-making. When members failed to submit such copies the chairman had them prepared, and sent the carbon to the appropriate division or section chairman. When the division indicated as first choice was unable to make use of a reported project, the chairman relayed the copies to the chairman of the second choice. The originals were used in preparing the list of current research projects to be published in the January number of the *Journal*. Comparison of that list with the program of the annual meeting indicates that these reports were widely utilized in the various sections. In addition to their use by our own Society, the reports were made available to the general secretary of the National Conference of Social Work, and to the chairman of the Committee on Social Statistics of the American Statistical Association.

Respectfully submitted,

HORNELL HART, *Chairman*
R. D. MCKENZIE
EBEN MUMFORD

COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL SCIENCE ABSTRACTS

The Committee on Social Science Abstracts reports that owing to the initiative of the Committee through its former chairman, the projected *Journal of Social Science Abstracts* has been launched, is adequately financed for a period of ten years, and will begin publication in March, 1920.

The Committee has almost completed its work, but the request has come from the editors of *Social Science Abstracts* that the Committee be continued. The reason assigned is that the problem of the classification of sociological material is still to be solved, and the services of a committee of this Society will be of value to the editors.

It is therefore recommended that the Committee on Social Science Abstracts be retained as one of the standing committees of the Society.

ELLSWORTH FARIS, *Chairman*
ROBERT E. PARK
U. G. WEATHERLY

COMMITTEE ON TEACHING SOCIAL STUDIES

The following persons were appointed this year as the Committee on the Teaching of the Social Studies in the Schools: E. H. Sutherland (chairman), J. M. Gillette, and C. C. North. The function of this Committee is to conduct a luncheon conference on problems of teaching sociology, as a part of the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society. In earlier years this conference has been concerned either with the social science course in the high school or the introductory course in sociology in the college or university. This year the Committee is presenting for discussion in a luncheon conference on Saturday, December 20, the problems of teaching seminar courses. Professor C. C. North has been making an investigation of seminar methods now in use. Because of illness he was unable to complete his report and Professor House was asked to make the final report. On the basis of this report the following problems will be discussed: the purpose or objective of the seminar course, the selection of registrants, the desirability of unity in the problems assigned, the use of the seminar meetings, the desirability of a co-operative seminar in which all members of the sociology staff participate, the desirability of extending the seminar method to advanced undergraduates.

E. H. SUTHERLAND, *Chairman*

COMMITTEE ON SECTIONS

The meeting of the Committee on Sections was held in the Florentine Room of the Congress Hôtel, on Saturday, December 20, 1928. Members present besides the president and the secretary were A. J. Todd, the family; R. E. Park, psychiatry and sociology; B. F. Coen, Rural Sociology; F. E. Johnson, sociology and religion; J. F. Steiner and L. E. Bowman, the community. It was agreed that, so far as feasible, joint meetings between the sections be encouraged. It was decided not to limit the number of meetings to be held. The use of the classified membership list had proved valuable to the chairmen of the sections. It was recommended that a tentative program be prepared early, as a basis for final organization of the program.

It was suggested that consideration be given to the devising of a plan for securing paid service in connection with publicity for the meetings.

Respectfully submitted,

E. W. BURGESS, *Secretary*

THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

The report of the American Council of Learned Societies was made by Stuart Rice, of the University of Pennsylvania, in behalf of J. P. Lichtenberger, who attended its last annual meeting in January, 1928. The representatives of the American Sociological Society on the Council for the year 1929 are William F. Ogburn and Stuart Rice. Since the report of the Council is printed in full in the December, 1928, *Bulletin* and copies were available for distribution at the meeting, the report is not printed here. Those desiring reports are asked to write to the American Council of Learned Societies, 907 Fifteenth Street, Washington, D.C.

THE SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

The report of the work of the Social Science Research Council for the year 1928 was made by Shelby M. Harrison, who together with William F. Ogburn and W. I. Thomas are the representatives of the American Sociological Society upon the Council. Since a copy of this report has been mailed to every member of the Society no summary of the report is given here. Additional copies of this report may be obtained by writing the Chairman, Social Science Research Council, 50 East Forty-second Street, New York.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

The report of progress made by the editor-in-chief, Professor E. R. A. Seligmann, at the annual meeting of the board of directors, December 7, 1928, gives a clear picture of the present status of the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. Since the last annual meeting considerable progress has been made in the development of the work. This may be discussed under four heads: (1) the conduct of the work; (2) the contributors; (3) the publishers, and (4) the staff.

So far as concerns the content of the work, the first thing was to select the names and titles of the articles that are to go into the fifteen volumes. We started out by talking large topics—law, labor, art, agriculture—and making a list of the twenty, forty, one hundred articles and titles that we thought might properly be included under these respective heads. This was done by the staff, and the results were sent around to a large number of experts in the particular field. Many of these gentlemen have given valuable assistance. We call them editorial consultants because we consult them as to the exclusion or inclusion of the articles. They returned the lists with many suggestions. After deciding what articles should be put in and the proportion of space to be given

to each, there came the far more exacting editorial task of outlining the content of each article. We did not, of course, intend to dictate to each contributor what he should write. We proposed rather to explain to the contributor what we had in mind—the kind of article that would fit into the general scope of the *Encyclopedia* as it was explained by me a year ago. Thus for each article a summary was put on a card—sometimes a few thousand words, sometimes only a few lines—and this outline was sent to each contributor with the suggestion that, if he so chose, he might follow it. As a matter of fact, our suggestions have been followed with little change. To complete these outlines for the entire *Encyclopedia* should occupy the staff for at least two more years.

In addition to the articles, we have a large number of biographies dealing with celebrated men in each of the ten fields covered by the *Encyclopedia*. This, also, was a difficult matter inasmuch as it included not alone Anglo-Saxon personalities but also those in all the different countries and ages. Here we have had to lean heavily upon our editorial consultants abroad for advice as to both inclusion and exclusion. The biographies will occupy about one-fifth of the entire space.

Approximately one-half of the first volume will be devoted to the introductory material. Of this the most important part is a study in twelve or fifteen chapters of the progress of the social sciences as a reflex of social and political development, from the time of the Greeks to the present. Other divisions of the introductory material will deal with an explanation of our own venture, the history of encyclopedia-making, the teaching of the social sciences here and abroad, and an annotated bibliography of epoch-making works in the ten different fields of the human sciences.

So much for the content of the work. Now as to the contributors. We have found an admirable degree of co-operation from scholars all over the world. Our difficulty has naturally been to choose just the right man for the particular article. Sometimes it is a bit embarrassing because we have two or three scholars who are equally important in one field. However, in most cases we have been able finally to select just the right man, and as a consequence we have a galaxy of contributors which I think I can safely say exceeds both in quality and quantity any similar array in the history of science. We have had all kinds of encyclopedias before, but never before has there been an encyclopedia with such a large number of really eminent thinkers from all over the world as contributors.

We have also to mention the pleasant fact that whereas we expected at least one-third of those invited to contribute to decline, only about 5 per cent have actually declined. In other words, almost everyone has considered it an honor to take part in the notable enterprise.

We come next to the format and makeup of the volumes themselves. Here we started out by engaging four leading artists and printers in this

country to make plans, suggestions, and samples. We were able to select only one of these four, although his proposals were subsequently modified by some excellent suggestions of the other three. That took several months. When we had completed this, we went to work with the publishers. Here again we found a number who were willing to take up the task. We finally cast in our lot with the Macmillan Company. It is largely owing to the admirable suggestions of Mr. R. R. Smith and to his courtesy that we have been able to go so far as we have done. We are still discussing the questions of paper and binding, but have settled upon the price of \$7.50 for each of the fifteen volumes, with a 40 per cent rebate to members of the constituent societies who send in their subscriptions now.

The final point is with reference to the staff. We are fortunate in having associated with us Dr. Alvin Johnson, who has not only shown understanding of all details of encyclopedia-making, combined with scholarship, but who has displayed great administrative capacity. As a consequence we have today a group of fine men and women at work. We started in at Columbia with one or two rooms, and we now have two floors in a building with about a dozen rooms, and twenty-five people at work. It will be interesting to note that in addition to Dr. Johnson and myself, we have twelve experts—six men and six women—who are Doctors of Philosophy and experts in their fields. In addition to these experts, we have a number of secretaries, typists, and file clerks, and now we are just taking on someone to prepare the manuscripts for the printer as well as a proofreader. We expect to send the material for the first volume to the printer within two or three months, and we hope to have the first volume ready early in September. The volumes will then succeed each other at intervals of about four months.

Although we have now been working actively for a year and a half, time has not been lost. The work has become far greater than I had contemplated at the beginning. If I had had any idea of the magnitude of the task, I should have been far more reluctant to be dragged into this gigantic enterprise. But as the work proceeds, I grow more enthusiastic about it. It can be said without extravagance that this *Encyclopedia*, when it is complete after four or five years, will be far and away the most important work of its kind that has ever been prepared, and that it will, I hope, redound to the credit of American scholarship.

Respectfully submitted,

HARRY E. BARNES

ERNEST W. BURGESS

HOWARD B. WOOLSTON, *Chairman*

THE AMERICAN YEARBOOK

Another important change occurred during the year 1928 in the financing and publishing plans of the *American Yearbook*. In August, 1928, Doubleday, Doran and Company, of Garden City, who had taken over the publishing contract from Macmillan's late in 1927, withdrew as publishers. At that time Mr. Adolf Ochs of the *New York Times* agreed that his company would take over all expenses of writing and editing the volume. Negotiations for a new publisher not having succeeded, Mr. Ochs furthermore agreed in 1928 to undertake the publishing of the *Yearbook* as a department of the *Times*. The present expectation is that the *Yearbook* will constitute a permanent department of that newspaper. Pursuant to the policy of making the *Yearbook* more widely known, the *Times* organization has undertaken a fairly extensive advertising campaign. This has borne fruit in a very considerable increase in sales for the recent issues and advance sales for the 1928 volume. The foregoing changes have involved certain changes in the managing staff. Professor Albert B. Hart remains as editor, and Dr. William M. Schuyler as associate-editor. Mr. Calvin W. Rice is now vice-president, and Dr. George W. Kirchwey is secretary. There have been no changes in the editorial policy, though there have been a few changes in the representation on the Supervisory Board. The 1928 volume will be off the press about the middle of February and will be about the same in size and appearance as the 1927 volume.

Respectfully submitted,

F. H. HANKINS

PROGRAM OF THE
TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, DECEMBER 26-29, 1928

CENTRAL TOPIC, "THE RURAL COMMUNITY"

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 26

3:00-5:00 P.M. **Registration** of members and guests of the Society, and reservation of luncheon and dinner tickets. *Gold Room Foyer.*

Section on Sociology and Social Work. M. J. Karpf, Training School for Jewish Social Work, New York, in charge.

"Some Contributions of Sociological Theory to Social Work," Earle Eubank, University of Cincinnati. Discussion: Thomas J. Riley, Amelia Sears, Pauline V. Young, Jesse F. Steiner. Discussion from the floor, Harry Lurie.

Conference Group on Methods of Community Appraisal. In charge of J. H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin.

Discussion led by Nat T. Frame, Joseph K. Hart, P. S. Platt, Frank Walker, E. DeS. Brunner, B. L. Hummel.

5:00-6:00 P.M. **Section on the Community**, in joint session with the National Community Center Association.

"Forum Discussion as a Factor in Developing Community Mindedness," Fred Moore, Executive Director, Chicago Forum Council, presiding.

"Divisive Factors in Community Centers," Marie G. Merrill, Supervisor, Community Centers, Board of Education, Chicago.

6:00-8:00 P.M. **Dinner Meeting** of the Section on the Community, in Joint session with the National Community Center Association.

"A Word of Welcome," William J. Bogan, Superintendent of Schools, Chicago.

"Prohibition and Gangsters, a Chicago Community Study," John Landesco, American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology.

"The Sociology of Citizenship," Seba Eldridge, University of Kansas.

8:00-10:00 P.M. **Division of Social Psychology.** Emory S. Bogardus, University of Southern California, in charge.

"Changes in Rural Distance," introductory statement by the chairman.

"Farmers' Movements as Psycho-Social Phenomena," Carl C. Taylor, North Carolina State College.

"Studies in Rural Leadership," Dwight Sanderson and Robert W. Nafe, Cornell University.

"Family Life and Rural Organization," J. H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin.

"Newspaper Circulation as an Index of Urbanization," Robert E. Park, University of Chicago.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27

9.00 A.M. **Business Meeting** of the Society. *The Gold Room.*

10:00-12:00 A.M. Meetings of the Sections of the Society.

Section on Educational Sociology, in joint session with the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology. In charge of Daniel H. Kulp II, Columbia University. "Sociology and Rural Education." *Gray Room.* "The Rural Community as a Unit for Rural Administration," Dwight Sanderson, Cornell University.

Discussion by A. W. Hayes, Marshall College.

"Adaptation of Educational Administration to Rural Communities," George A. Works, University of Chicago.

Section on Rural Sociology. J. H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin, Chairman of Committee on Research, presiding. *Gold Room.*

"Scope, Method, and Future Needs in the Following Fields of Research, with Their Implications for Extension Work in Rural Sociology."

"Projects Relating to Social Organization," E. L. Morgan, University of Missouri. Case presentation of studies in this field.

"Comparison of Some Factors in Rural-Urban Culture and Attitudes," Pitirim Sorokin, University of Minnesota.

"Population Projects," C. Luther Fry, Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York City. Case presentation of studies of population projects.

Section on Sociology and Social Work. Frank J. Bruno, Washington University, presiding.

"A Sociological Analysis of the Contents of 2,000 Social Case Records, with Special Reference to the Treatment of Family Discord," E. R. Mowrer, Northwestern University. Discussion. Elizabeth Dutcher, Dorothy Kahn, Frances Price.

Section on the Community, in joint session with the National Community Center Association. LeRoy E. Bowman, Columbia University, presiding. "Appraisal of the Community Movement."

"The Function and Value of Community Committees," Anna M. Cameron, Secretary, Nebraska Conference of Social Work.

"A Step toward Community Definition," Clarence Arthur Perry, Russell Sage Foundation.

"Why I Dropped Out of the Community Movement," Joseph K. Hart, University of Wisconsin.

"The Relation of the Community Movement to Social Service," Walter W. Pettit, New York School of Social Work.

Discussion: Arthur Evans Wood, University of Michigan, and Audrey Williams, Wisconsin Conference of Social Work.

Section on the Family. Arthur J. Todd, Northwestern University, in charge. *Florentine Room East*.

"The Isolated Family," Lee M. Brooks, University of North Carolina.

"A Eugenic Experiment in a Better Family Program," Florence Brown Sherbon, University of Kansas.

Section on the Sociology of Religion. F. Ernest Johnson, Federal Council of Churches, in charge. "Current Research Projects." *Club Room 1120, 2d floor*.

"Review of Research Projects Conducted during 1928," Galen M. Fisher, Institute of Social and Religious Research.

"Brief Reports on Particular Projects," by persons conducting them.

Discussion led by Ernest W. Burgess, University of Chicago.

12:30-3:00 P.M. Luncheon Meetings.

Section on Educational Sociology, in joint session with the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology. "Rural Sociology in Educational Problems." *French Room*.

"Problems of Rural Education Demanding Sociological Research," Daniel H. Kulp II, Columbia University. President's Annual Address.

"Some Investigations into Rural Life with Curriculum Implications," Edmund DeS. Brunner, Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York City.

Section on Rural Sociology, in joint luncheon with the American Farm Economic Association. "Mexican Immigration." *Gold Room West*.

"Abstract of a Study by Manuel Gamio, Mexico, of the Antecedents of Mexican Immigration into the United States." Robert Redfield, University of Chicago.

"Mexican Immigration from the Economic Point of View," Max Handman, University of Texas.

"Mexican Immigration from the Sociological Point of View," E. S. Bogardus, University of Southern California.

Discussion led by Alva Taylor, Vanderbilt University.

Section on Sociology and Social Work. James E. Cutler, Western Reserve University, presiding.

"A Study of Social Case Work Interviews," Joanna C. Colcord, University of Minnesota. Discussion: Stuart A. Queen, Clifford R. Shaw, W. V. Bingham. Discussion from floor, Helen L. Myrick.

Section on the Sociology of Religion. "Religion and Social Control."
Club Room 1164, 2d floor.

"Evolution of the Technique of Social Control of Protestantism with the Influence of Changes in its Environment," Heinrich H. Maurer, Lewis Institute, Chicago.

Discussion led by Arthur L. Swift, Union Theological Seminary, and Justin W. Nixon, Brick Presbyterian Church, Rochester, New York.

3.00-5.00 P.M. **Division on Statistics**, in joint session with the American Statistical Association, George R. Davies, University of Iowa, presiding.
"Family Disorganization and Mobility," Ernest R. Mowrer, Northwestern University.

"Selective Aspects of Rural and Urban Migration," C. C. Zimmerman, University of Minnesota.

"Studies in Farm Welfare Statistics," J. O. Rankin, University of Nebraska.

"Some Statistics of the Changing Family," William F. Ogburn, University of Chicago.

5.30-8.00 P.M. **Joint Dinner Meeting** of the Section on Rural Sociology with the Section on Community and the National Community Center Association. Jesse F. Steiner, Tulane University, presiding.

"Progress of the Mississippi Plan of Community Organization in a Typical Rural Community," J. M. Dean, Mississippi State College of Agriculture.

"Community Development in Ohio—A Specific Illustration," R. B. Tom, Ohio State University.

"The Use of the Score Card in a West Virginia Community," A. H. Rapping, West Virginia College of Agriculture.

Discussion led by George W. Farrell, United States Department of Agriculture.

8.00-10.00 P.M. **Joint Session for Presidential Addresses.** *The Gold Room.* American Sociological Society, American Association for Labor Legislation, and National Community Center Association. Graham Taylor, Chicago Commons, presiding.

"Industry's Responsibility to the Community for Unemployment Prevention," Sam A. Lewisohn, American Association for Labor Legislation.

"An Appraisal of the Community Movement," Jesse F. Steiner, National Community Center Association.

"Urban Influence and Selection," John M. Gillette, American Sociological Society.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 28

9:00 A.M. **Business Meeting** for reports of committees.

10:00-12:00 A.M. Meetings of the sections of the Society.

Section on Educational Sociology, in joint session with the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology. *Gray Room*.

"A Child's Educators: A Study of the Educative Effects of Non-School Agencies," F. R. Clow, Wisconsin State Teachers College.

"The Conditioning Factors in the Work of High-School Pupils," Harvey D. Douglass, Fowlerville (Michigan) Public Schools.

"Social Science Requirements in College Entrance and Graduation," Daniel A. Dollarhide, State Forest School, Pennsylvania.

"Socializing of the American Indian," Frank W. Blackmar, University of Kansas.

Section on Rural Sociology, Eben Mumford, Michigan State College, Chairman of Steering Committee, presiding. *Gold Room*.

"The Attitude of Farmers toward the County Farm Bureau," W. Russell Tylor, University of Illinois.

"The Influence of the Amount of Formal Schooling upon the Consumption Tendencies in Two Rural Communities," Lowry Nelson, Brigham Young University.

"The Life-History Method as Applied to Rural Social Research," Charles H. Cooley, University of Michigan.

"Methods of Studying Personality Development in Rural and Urban Groups," H. B. Hawthorn, Municipal University of Akron. Discussion led by C. J. Galpin, United States Department of Agriculture, and C. C. Zimmerman, University of Minnesota.

Section on Sociology and Social Work. *English Room*.

"Is Prediction Feasible in Social Work?" An Inquiry Based upon a Sociological Study of Parole. E. W. Burgess, University of Chicago.

Discussion by Louis E. Lawes, Edwin J. Cooley, Stuart A. Rice, Robert W. Burgess, and E. H. Sutherland.

Section on the Community, in joint session with the National Community Center Association. Robert E. Park, University of Chicago, presiding.

"Race Relations and Community."

"A Study of the Dufferin District: An Area in Transition," Percy A. Robert, University Settlement, Montreal.

"The Russian Molokan Community," Pauline V. Young, University of Southern California.

"The Negro Community," E. Franklin Frazier, Director Research and Records Department, Chicago Urban League.

"The Control of Race Relations in the Community," Norman M. Kastler. Discussion led by Mrs. Loraine R. Green, Chicago.

Section on the Family. *Florentine Room East.*

"Domestic Discord: Its Analysis and Treatment," Ernest R. Mowrer, Northwestern University.

"The Use of Courses in the Sociology of the Family for Teacher Training," J. L. Hypes, Connecticut Agricultural College.

"The Co-ordination of Woman's Interests as a Concrete Problem for the Family," Ethel Puffell Howes, Director of the Institute for the Co-ordination of Women's Interests, Smith College.

Section on the Sociology of Religion. *Club Room 1120, 2d floor.*

"Some Phases of Religion That Are Susceptible of Sociological Study," Ellsworth Faris, University of Chicago.

Discussion led by Charles A. Ellwood, University of Missouri, and Herbert N. Shenton, Syracuse University.

12:30-3:00. Luncheon Meetings.

Section on the Community, in joint session with the National Community Center Association. Arthur Evans Wood, University of Michigan, presiding. "Some Ethnic Factors."

"Local Autonomy in Russian Village Life under the Soviets," Karl Borders, Chicago Commons.

"The Community Area as the Unit for the Study of Ethnic Adjustments," Bessie Bloom Wessel, Connecticut College.

"The Function of the Jewish Communities in America," Alexander M. Dushkin, Board of Jewish Education, Chicago.

Section on Rural Sociology. B. F. Coen, Colorado Agricultural College, in charge. "The Teaching of Rural Sociology." *Gold Room.*

"Content of Courses in Rural Sociology," Fred R. Yoder, State College of Washington.

"Laboratory Use of Surveys, Census Data, and Other Sources," J. O. Rankin, University of Nebraska.

Discussion led by A. W. Hayes, Marshall College, and J. L. Hypes, Connecticut Agricultural College.

Section on the Family. Ernest R. Groves, University of North Carolina, in charge. *Florentine Room West.*

"Parenthood Training in a City College," A. Caswell Ellis, Director, Cleveland College of Western Reserve University.

"The Education of Women, a Sociological Problem," Annie Louise Macleod, Syracuse University.

Section on the Sociology of Religion. *Club Room 1164, 2d floor.*

"Rural-Urban Conflict."

Report of a Study Made in the Chicago Dairy District, Arthur E. Holt, Chicago Theological Seminary.

Discussion led by A. Z. Mann, Northwestern University, and Father Edwin V. O'Hara, Eugene, Oregon.

3:00-5:00 P.M. **Division on Social Research.** Ten-Minute Reports on Research in Progress. Susan M. Kingsbury, Bryn Mawr College, in charge.
 "The Case Method as Recently Applied in Social Study of the Farm Family as a Method of Rural Research."

"Case Methods in Rural Research," E. L. Kirkpatrick, University of Wisconsin.

"A Study in the Process of Assimilation," H. G. Duncan, University of North Carolina.

"The Social Adjustment of 219 Unselected University Students," Robert C. Angell, University of Michigan.

"Sociological Study of Neglected Children," William H. Faust, Oklahoma East Central State Teachers College.

"Trouble Patterns," Stuart A. Queen, University of Kansas.

"Case Analysis of Scientific Methods Employed in Contributions to Social Science," Stuart A. Rice, University of Pennsylvania.

6:30 P.M. **Annual Dinner of the Society.** *Gold Room.*

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29

9:00 A.M. **Annual Business Meeting** of the American Sociological Society.

10:00-12:00 A.M. **Division on Human Ecology and Population.** L. L. Bernard, University of North Carolina, in charge. *The Gold Room.*

"Introductory Statement," L. L. Bernard.

"Type of Agriculture as a Conditioning Factor in Community Organization," Charles E. Lively, Ohio State University.

"Cotton Culture and Social Life and Institutions in the South," Rupert B. Vance, University of North Carolina. Discussion by C. C. Taylor, North Carolina State College.

"Ecological Succession in the Puget Sound Region," R. D. McKenzie, University of Washington.

"The Ecology of the San Juan Islands," Norman S. Hayner, University of Washington.

"Age and Sex Distribution as Factors in Rural Behavior," Bruce L. Melvin, Cornell University.

12:30-3:00 P.M. Luncheon Meetings.

Section on the Teaching of Sociology. E. H. Sutherland, University of Minnesota, in charge. *Club Room 1164, 2d floor.*

"Seminar in Sociology," C. C. North, Ohio State University.

Division on Social Research. *Florentine Room.*

"The Scientific Study of Social Change."

"Invention in the History of the Ship: A Study of Technic Evolution," S. C. Gil Fillan, Rosenwald Industrial Museum.

"A Study of 137 Typical Inventors," Lowell J. Carr, University of Michigan.

"The Influence of Cultural Change upon the American Newspaper," Malcolm M. Willey, University of Minnesota.

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY FOR THE FISCAL YEAR

DECEMBER 1, 1927, TO NOVEMBER 30, 1928

Membership Statement

On November 30 the number of members of the American Sociological Society was 1,352, or a gain of 212 members over 1927. This represents the largest increase in membership for over ten years.

Membership in 1927	1,140	
Members resigning	44	
Members dropped	122	
Members deceased	7	
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Total lost	173	
Honorary members	4	
Life members	28	
Members renewing	935	
New members	385	1,352

Student Membership

Through the recommendations of their instructors, a large group of students (202) took advantage in 1928 of the special rate for student membership in the Society. Attention is called to the co-operation of a large number of teachers who sent in lists of students recommended for membership: Isaac E. Ash, E. E. Aubrey, W. G. Binnewies, C. J. Bittner, W. S. Bittner, Herbert Blumer, E. S. Bogardus, Hugh Carter, C. H. Cooley, H. G. Duncan, Thomas D. Eliot, C. A. Ellwood, Doris R. Fenneberg, Wilson Gee, Joseph A. Geddes, S. C. GilFillan, E. B. Harper, C. W. Hart, G. E. Hartmann, N. S. Hayner, E. T. Hiller, H. D. Hoover, F. N. House, J. L. Hypes, M. J. Karpf, E. L. Kirkpatrick, J. H. Kolb, M. H. Krout, A. F. Kuhlman, H. A. Logan, F. E. Lumley, R. D. McKenzie, O. M. Mehus, N. C. Meier, E. L. Morgan, E. H. Mowrer, John H. Mueller, G. B. Neumann, W. F. Ogburn, O. S. Palmer, J. G. Patrick, M. T. Price, L. K. Quan, S. A. Queen, J. M. Reinhardt, C. Sayeki, E. Schmiedeler, H. B. Sell, E. H. Shideler, G. E. Simpson, N. L. Sims, R. C. Smith, Wm. C. Smith, H. H. Strong, E. H. Sutherland, C. C. Taylor, F. M. Trasher, A. J. Todd, G. H. Von Tungeln, E. J. Webster, M. M. Willey, H. P. Williams, H. Woolston, Donald Young, Esther Zilliox.

As in past years, much of the work of the Society is carried on by its representatives on seven national organizations: the Social Science Research Council, the American Council of Learned Societies, the National Council for

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- Division on Social Research.** *Florentine Room.*
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As in past years, much of the work of the Society is carried on by its representatives on seven national organizations: the Social Science Research Council, the American Council of Learned Societies, the National Council for

the Social Studies in the Schools, the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, the *Dictionary of American Biography*, the *American Yearbook*, and the recently established *Journal of Social Science Abstracts*. Reports of our representatives on these organizations have been made at the business meetings of the Society and will appear in the *Proceedings*. Of the six officially recognized sections of the Society, certain ones like the sections on the community, educational sociology, the family, and rural sociology carry on activities between the annual meetings.

The secretary was authorized by the Executive Committee, voting by mail, to sign a contract with the University of Chicago Press whereby selected papers from the last volume of the *Proceedings* will be published under the title *Personality and the Social Group*. The Society agrees to bear the cost of remaking the pages for the volume, and in consideration of this will receive in royalties 25 per cent instead of 15 per cent of the retail price, as was the case with the book *The Urban Community*. Royalties received by the Society on *The Urban Community* have amounted to almost four hundred dollars and will probably finally reach close to five hundred dollars.

Invitations for the 1929 Meeting

Invitations for our next annual meeting have been received from the Asheville, New Orleans, and Philadelphia Chambers of Commerce, and from Tulane University.

Necrology

The secretary regrets to report the death during the past year of two of the former presidents of the Society and distinguished sociologists: George Elliott Howard and Edward Cary Hayes. Deaths of other members during the year include: Honorable Woodbridge Ferris, I. G. Harris, A. V. Hiester, Max Klee, Mary C. Peacock, and Jonathan Wright.

Respectfully submitted,

ERNEST W. BURGESS, *Secretary*

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MANAGING EDITOR FOR THE FISCAL YEAR

DECEMBER 1, 1927, TO NOVEMBER 30, 1928

On November 30 the volumes of the *Papers and Proceedings* on hand were as follows:

Volume	Copies	Volume	Copies
I	43	XII	55
II	0 (out of print)	XIII	0 (out of print)
III	0 (out of print)	XIV	0 (out of print)
IV	6	XV	205
V	8	XVI	81
VI	0 (out of print)	XVII	88
VII	8	XVIII	86

Volume	Copies	Volume	Copies
VIII	39	XIX	266
IX	0 (out of print)	XX	171
X	107	XXI	330
XI	0 (out of print)	XXII	170

The total number of volumes, 1,603, is 44 more than were reported last year.

Respectfully submitted,

ERNEST W. BURGESS, *Managing Editor*

REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE

The examination of the books and accounts of the American Sociological Society for the fiscal year ending November 30, 1928, has been supervised by your Committee.

Your Committee submits for your consideration Balance Sheet (Schedule "A") and Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements (Schedule "B") prepared by the Secretary-Treasurer on the basis of the report by a qualified examiner, who prepared the following exhibits: Balance Sheet, Cash Receipts and Disbursements, Statement of Profit and Loss, Securities Owned.

Your Committee submits herewith the original report of the examiner for the archives of the Society.

The statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements includes in its cash receipts "Dues from members, 1929 (\$1,488.50). If to this the uninvested receipts from life members (\$55.62) and prepayment of *Manual of Abstracts* (\$24.00) are added, the cash balance determined by subtracting from this sum-total (\$1,568.12) the apparent cash balance (\$1,007.44) gives a deficit at the present time of \$470.68. Comparing this deficit with the deficit as of last year (\$500.57), there is a surplus in the operations of the current year of \$128.89. This surplus of \$128.89 is close to the amount (\$135.00) actually received above the regular dues from contributing and subscribing members for 1928. For 1929 the amount already received above regular dues is \$150, and we estimate that it will reach \$250.00.

Last year the Executive Committee, upon the recommendation of your Committee, recommended a campaign to increase the membership and authorized an additional expenditure of \$200 above the budget item for this purpose. The results have been gratifying both from the standpoint of membership and of finances.

The additional expenditure for this purpose was more than justified in the judgment of your Committee, and we respectfully recommend a continuance of this policy as provided for in the budget submitted, where the estimated expenditure for clerical service for 1929 is \$200 more than the actual expenditures for 1928.

Your Committee begs leave to submit herewith the seventh annual budget of the American Sociological Society, covering the fiscal year ending November 30, 1929. Although the budget is balanced, the amount provided for clerical service, while representing a real increase over that of 1928, is still inadequate to secure full time secretarial service for the Society. Accordingly, your Committee recommends that the Secretary be authorized, in his discretion, if the finances of the Society seem to warrant it, to employ a full-time secretary on and after October 1, 1929.

Your Committee respectfully suggests that the Managing Editor be asked to arrange with the University Press to cut the pages of the *Proceedings* of the American Sociological Society, so that the inconvenience due to uncut pages may be eliminated.

Your Committee has given a good deal of thought to the matter of including the papers and discussions of the sections of the society in the *Proceedings*. It seems to your Committee that a great many valuable papers are lost to the permanent records of the Society because the section meetings are not recorded in the *Proceedings* except through summaries by the Chairman. A complete issue of the *Proceedings* would also be a much better indication of what transpires at the annual meetings than the present *Proceedings* are. Accordingly, your Committee respectfully suggests that efforts be made to secure financial assistance from such sources as would be interested in this matter including Foundations, so as to make it possible for the Society to publish all the papers and discussions of the sections which your Editorial Committee will deem valuable.

Three years ago the Executive Committee authorized the publication in book form, under the title *The Urban Community*, of selected papers from Volume XX of the *Proceedings*. The first two years' royalties from this volume have netted the Society \$386.85. The sale of the remaining volumes during the next two years should bring the total income to the Society from this volume up to approximately \$500 00.

It again becomes the pleasure of your Committee to express its appreciation of the excellent manner in which your Secretary-Treasurer conducted the affairs of the Society during the past year and his wholehearted devotion to the best interests of the Society, which an examination of the transactions during the year makes manifest. The American Sociological Society, we feel, is to be felicitated on having so efficient and able a person as Professor Burgess to conduct the affairs of the Society. We respectfully recommend that this expression of our appreciation be spread on the minutes of the Society and that the Managing Editor be instructed to include this statement in the printed minutes.

Respectfully submitted,

THOMAS D. ELIOT

FERRIS F. LAUNE

MAURICE J. KARPf, *Chairman*

SCHEDULE "A"

BALANCE SHEET AS OF NOVEMBER 30, 1928

Assets

Cash in bank	\$1,007.44
Office furniture	\$146.65
Less depreciation—up to and including 1928	85.23
<i>Proceedings</i> on hand, 1,603 volume, @ \$0.50	801.50
Investments:	
Northwestern Electric Company 6 per cent Gold Bonds	500.00
St. Cloud Public Service Company 6 per cent Gold Bonds	675.38
Hyde Park Baptist Church House 6 per cent Gold Bonds	600.00
Total investments	1,775.38
Total assets	\$3,735.74

Liabilities

Surplus as at December 1, 1927	\$3,162.67
Additions:	
Increase in stock of <i>Proceedings</i> by	
44 copies	\$ 22.00
Net gain—Schedule "B"	557.80
Total additions	\$579.80
Deductions:	
Depreciation—office furniture	6.82
Net additions	\$ 573.07
Total liabilities	\$3,735.74

SCHEDULE "B"

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FROM DECEMBER 1

Cash on deposit on November 30, 1927 \$ 539.55

Cash Receipts

Dues from members for 1928	\$5,342.12	
Dues from members for 1929	1,488.50	\$6,830.62
Exchange with remittances	19.59	
Postage with remittances	8.28	
Income from <i>Proceedings</i>	90.90	
Royalties from <i>The Urban Community</i>	185.70	
Interest	153.69	
Receipts from abstract service	53.15	
Credits on membership	6.25	
<i>Manual of Abstracts</i>	150.97	
Special receipts for joint program	42.39	1,111.92
		<hr/>
Total receipts		7,042.54
Plus credit from University of Chicago Press		400.00
		<hr/>
Total		\$8,881.09

Cash Disbursements

<i>Proceedings</i> , Volume XXII	\$1,781.10	
<i>American Journal of Sociology</i>	3,230.59	
Clerical aid, salaries, etc.	1,372.82	
Postage and express	305.57	
Printing (including abstract service)	285.01	
Stationery	80.80	
Secretary's expense at annual meeting	114.04	
Committee on the <i>Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences</i>	108.25	
Society membership in A.C.L.S.	57.00	
Delegate, A.C.L.S.	20.30	
A.C.L.S. for Joint Program	150.34	
Exchange on remittances	42.68	
Membership refunds	74.50	
Auditing	10.00	
Office expense	2.05	
Prepayment of interest	3.40	
<i>Manual of Abstracts</i>	92.14	
		<hr/>
Total disbursements		\$7,783.65
Cash on deposit November 30, 1928		1,097.44
Cash on deposit November 30, 1927		530.89
		<hr/>
Net gain for year		\$ 557.89

TENTATIVE BUDGET

of the American Sociological Society for the Fiscal Year of 1929

(December 1, 1928, to November 30, 1929)

Receipts

	Estimated Receipts for 1929	Actual Receipts for 1928	Actual Receipts for 1927
Dues from members	\$6,350.00	\$6,200.62	\$5,221.85
Sale of publications	600.00	676.00	675.17
Press credit	400.00	400.00	300.00
Interest	150.00	153.60	120.87
Abstract service and other receipts	000.00	53.15	78.57
Exchange and postage	27.00	27.87	21.00
Special receipts for joint program	000.00	42.30	
Special memberships	250.00	135.00	
<i>Manual of Abstracts</i>	150.00	126.07	
Credits on membership		6.25	
Total receipts	\$7,927.00	\$7,912.54	\$6,417.46

Expenditures

	Estimated Expenditures for 1929	Actual Expenditures for 1928	Actual Expenditures for 1927
<i>American Journal of Sociology</i>	\$3,230.00	\$3,230.50	\$2,753.50
<i>Proceedings</i>	1,800.00	1,781.10	1,581.53
Clerical aid and salaries	1,600.00	1,415.32	1,253.84
Postage and express	300.00	305.57	342.60
Printing (including abstracts)	275.00	285.01	260.80
Stationery	150.00	80.86	160.35
Secretary's expense at meetings	50.00	114.04	85.43
Committee on <i>Social Science Encyclopaedia</i>		108.25	150.00
Society membership, A.C.L.S.	67.00	57.00	55.35
Delegate to A.C.L.S., etc.	150.00	20.30	50.00
A.C.L.S. for joint program	50.00	159.34	
Auditing	10.00	10.00	10.00
Exchange on dues	40.00	42.68	44.30
Refunds on memberships and on contributions	75.00	74.50	47.05
Insurance	5.00		
Miscellaneous expense	25.00	2.65	8.00
<i>Manual of Abstracts</i>	100.00	92.14	
Prepayment of interest		3.40	
Total expenditures	\$7,927.00	\$7,783.65	\$6,811.98

ANALYSIS OF ACTUAL INCOMES AND EXPENDITURES, 1917-28

	Receipts from Dues	Total Receipts	Expenditures	Deficit	Cash Balance
1917 . . . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	\$380.65
1918	\$2,415.35	\$2,810.70	\$2,803.87	\$ 53.13	327.48
1919	2,598.30	2,962.79	3,196.74	233.95	93.53
1920	3,172.50	3,591.96	3,815.90	233.94	—130.41
1921	3,708.50	4,400.73	4,617.22	216.49	—346.90
1922	4,228.72	4,093.79	5,002.75	98.96	—445.86
1923*	4,439.45	5,097.86	4,994.08	103.78†	—342.08
1924*	4,722.40	5,516.78	5,328.68	188.10†	—153.98
1925*	4,332.84	5,233.17	5,446.36	213.19	—367.17
1926*	4,382.00	5,982.62	5,820.50	162.12†	—205.05
1927*	5,221.85	6,417.46	6,811.98	394.52	—599.57
1928*	6,276.62	7,912.54	7,783.65	128.89†	—470.68

* The figures for 1923-28 do not include receipts from life memberships.

† Surplus.

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

CHICAGO, DECEMBER 27, 1928

The annual meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Sociological Society, held in the Gray Room of the Congress Hotel, was called to order at 5:10 P.M. by President John M. Gillette. Members present besides the president and the secretary were Messrs. Bernard, Cooley, Ellwood, Faris, Gillin, Miller, Sutherland, and Weatherly. A motion was made by Professor Gillin that the reading of the minutes be dispensed with and that they be approved in the form in which they appear in the *Proceedings*.

The reports of the secretary and of the managing editor were read, and, upon motion by Professor Faris, approved and ordered placed on file. The secretary reported that the Executive Committee, voting by mail, had elected Professor Bougle and Professor Von Tönnies honorary members of the Society. The report of the Finance Committee (M. J. Karpf, chairman; F. F. Laune, and T. D. Eliot) was read by its chairman. Discussion followed on the various recommendations made by the Finance Committee.

A motion made by Professor Ellwood that the report of the Finance Committee, together with its recommendations, be adopted was passed. The recommendations included the approval of the annual budget, the cutting of the leaves of the *Proceedings*, the authorization of the employment of a full-time secretary, the preparation by the Executive Committee of a letter to the members, setting forth the financial needs of the Society, relative to special memberships, and the consideration of methods of securing additional funds for publication.

The report of the Committee on the Election of Foreign Sociologists to Honorary Membership in the Society (C. A. Ellwood, chairman; R. E. Park) made by its chairman, recommended the nomination of Professor Marcel Mauss as an honorary member of the Society. Upon motion by Professor Ellwood, seconded by Professor Faris, his name was placed in nomination and recommended for election at the annual meeting.

It was moved by Professor Gillin and Professor Weatherly that the President and the Secretary be authorized to determine the time and place of the next annual meeting, after the customary consultation with members of the Executive Committee.

Upon motion by Professor Miller, seconded by Professor Gillin, the present secretary-treasurer was re-elected for the year 1929.

The report of the Committee on the Relations of Sociology and Psychiatry

(W. I. Thomas, R. E. Park, Kimball Young) was made by Professor Park. He stated that a colloquium on relations of psychiatry and the social sciences was held in New York and an informal meeting in Chicago. At this meeting a suggestion was made that the Committee be continued.

Professor Park moved that the Executive Committee authorize the Secretary to enter into negotiations with the University of Chicago Press to secure the publication in book form of selected papers from the forthcoming *Proceedings* of this meeting.

The meeting then adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

ERNEST W. BURGESS, *Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE FIRST BUSINESS MEETING FOR REPORTS OF COMMITTEES, CHICAGO, DECEMBER 27, 1928

The first business meeting was held in the Gold Room of the Congress Hotel, at 9:15 A.M., with President Gillette presiding. Professor Stuart Rice made a brief report on the work of the American Council of Learned Societies. Professor H. A. Miller read a report for Professor Harry E. Barnes on the work during the last year of the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*.

Respectfully submitted,

E. W. BURGESS, *Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE SECOND BUSINESS MEETING FOR REPORTS OF COMMITTEES, CHICAGO, DECEMBER 28, 1929

The business meeting for reports of committees held in the Gold Room of the Congress Hotel, was called to order by President Gillette at 9:15 A.M.

Report of the Committee on Social Abstracts (Ellsworth Faris, chairman, R. E. Park, and U. G. Weatherly) was read by the chairman and approved. The report of the Committee on Social Research was made by Susan M. Kingsbury, in the absence of Hornell Hart, chairman. The report was received and placed on file. The report of the Committee on Teaching Social Science (E. H. Sutherland, J. M. Gillette, C. C. North) was made by the chairman, and accepted. The report of the Social Science Research Council was made by Shelby M. Harrison, who reported on new developments in the work of the Council. The report was accepted.

A motion was made by W. F. Ogburn that a letter of appreciation be sent to Professor E. R. A. Seligman for his services in bringing to successful com-

pletion the task of raising the funds required for the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*.

A report was then made by the chairman of the Committee of this Society (Kimball Young, W. F. Ogburn, R. E. Park) appointed to co-operate in the preparation of the case book on scientific methods, being prepared by Stuart Rice for the Social Science Research Council. Motion made and carried that the report be received and placed on file, and the committee discontinued.

Respectfully submitted,

E. W. BURGESS, *Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, DECEMBER 29, 1928

The twenty-third annual business meeting of the American Sociological Society, held in the Gold Room of the Congress Hotel, was called to order at 9:00 A.M. by President John M. Gillette. Since the minutes of the last business meeting were printed in the *Proceedings*, their reading was dispensed with. The report of the meeting of the Executive Committee was read by the Secretary and, upon motion by Professor Faris, was accepted.

Professor Ellwood placed in nomination and moved the election of Professor Marcel Mauss as an honorary member of the American Sociological Society. The motion carried.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions (Susan M. Kingsbury, Niles Carpenter, E. H. Sutherland) was made by its chairman and passed. It expressed the appreciation of the Society for the co-operation and hospitality of the University of Chicago, Loyola University, Northwestern University, the Committee on Local Arrangements, the Publicity Committee, and the Congress Hotel. The following resolutions were adopted:

The American Sociological Society suffered the loss by death on August 7, 1928, of one of its ex-presidents, Edward Cary Hayes. After earlier administrative and teaching experience he was made head of the department of sociology of the University of Illinois, and organized, guided, and developed it to a position of importance. He has contributed several books and many articles to the literature of sociology. He has been elected to honorary membership in two foreign sociological societies. He has been a leader in the organization and administration of various social agencies in his community and state.

The American Sociological Society takes this occasion to express its deep regret at the loss of this vigorous and inspiring teacher and distinguished leader.

Resolved, That the officers and members of the American Sociological Society hereby express their keen sense of loss through the death, on June 9, 1928, of George Elliott Howard. As a former president and a member of the Executive Committee, he rendered valued counsel to the Society, and as a member he gave liberally of his time, his energy, and his genial friendship.

George Elliott Howard was graduated from the University of Nebraska, and he began his distinguished career as a teacher of history at that institution. In 1892 he was called to the first faculty of Leland Stanford Junior University, remaining there till 1900, when he withdrew as a protest against what he considered a restriction of academic freedom. After a year's devotion to completing his greatest contribution to learning, *The History of Marriage*, he returned to his alma mater, first as professor of institutional history and later as professor of political science and sociology. From 1918 to 1925, when he retired, he gave only part time to teaching.

He was a great scholar, and received recognition through the place given to his research in many lands, and through academic honors conferred upon him both in Great Britain and in France.

And he was a great and inspiring teacher.

Respectfully submitted,

NILES CARPENTER

E. H. SUTHERLAND

SUSAN M. KINGSBURY, *Chairman*

The report of the Committee on Nominations was made by its chairman, U. G. Weatherly.

The following persons were elected as officers of the Society for the year 1929: president, William F. Ogburn; first vice-president, Howard W. Odum; second vice-president, Edwin H. Sutherland; members of the Executive Committee, Edward B. Reuter and Jesse F. Steiner.

The meeting then adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

E. W. BURGESS, *Secretary*

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

MEMBERSHIP LIST FOR 1929¹

The symbols before the names indicate special classes of members, as *life members, †contributing and subscribing members, ‡honorary members.

The letters after the names indicate the divisions or sections of the Society in which each member is enrolled,² as (a) General and Historical Sociology, (b) Social Psychology, (c) Social Research, (d) Educational Sociology, (e) Social Biology, (f) Statistical Sociology, (g) Rural Sociology, (h) Community Problems, (i) Sociology and Social Work, (j) Teaching of Social Sciences, (k) The Family, (l) Sociology of Religion, (m) Sociology and Psychiatry.

ABBOTT, W. LEWIS, 216 E. Espanola St., Colorado Springs, Colo. *A b c e f j k m*

ABEL, T. F., 714 W. Nevada St., Urbana, Ill. *a b c*

ABELE, REV. RALPH C., 2270 W. Grand Blvd., Detroit, Mich. *b d*

ABELE, MRS. MARGARET HUTTON, 215 W. Mifflin St., Madison, Wis.

ADAMS, RALPH S., 432 Perkiomen Ave., Lansdale, Pa. *b G H k*

ADAMS, ROMANZO, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, T.H.

ADANALIAN, ALICE A., Hull House, 800 S. Halsted St., Chicago

ADDAMS, JANE, Hull House, 800 S. Halsted St., Chicago *I*

ADELSON, LUBA, 3249 Beach Ave., Chicago

AHRENS, ERICH A., Bradley Polytechnic Institute, Peoria, Ill. *H*

AIRHEART, WALTER LEE, State College Station, Fargo, N.D.

ALBIG, J. W., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

ALBRIGHT, LEILA R., Lake Erie College, Painesville, Ohio *a i j k*

ALEXANDER, CHESTER S., 4 E. 111th St., Chicago *B j k l*

ALEXANDER, W. A., Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.

ALEXANDER, W. M., Fayette, Mo. *a G h k l*

ALGYER, L. C., Skykomish, Wash. *B j*

ALIHAN, MILLA AISSA, 149 Elm St., Northampton, Mass. *b c d h I J*

ALINSKY, SOL DAVID, 5414 W. North Ave., Chicago *b C e f i l m*

ALLISON, HAROLD W., 1253 Ferry St., Eugene, Ore.

ALLPORT, FLOYD H., 323 Genesee Park Drive, Syracuse, N.Y. *a b c m*

AMANN, DOROTHY, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Tex.

AMMON, RALPH E., R.F.D. 7, Madison, Wis.

ANDERSON, C. ARNOLD, Department of Sociology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. *c f G*

ANDERSON, CLARENCE O., 6007 Dorchester Ave., Chicago *a B c D h j l*

ANDERSON, FRANK L., 64 S. Munn Ave., East Orange, N.J. *L*

ANDERSON, NELS, Seth Low College, 373 Pearl St., Brooklyn, N.Y. *b C d e h i k m*

ANDERSON, WILFRED A., State College Station, Raleigh, N.C. *a c f g j*

ANDREWS, BENJAMIN R., 1 Old Wood Road, Edgewater, N.J. *c d k*

ANDREWS, FRANKLYN L., 1040 W. Wood St., Decatur, Ill. *b e*

ANDREWS, JOHN B., American Association for Labor Legislation, 131 E. 23d St., New York

ANDREWS, MARY KIRK, 404 La Due Place, Greenville, Ill. *A k*

ANGELL, ROBERT COOLEY, 2008 Day St., Ann Arbor, Mich.

ANGIER, ROSWELL P., 140 Edgehill Road, New Haven, Conn. *B*

¹ The names of new members received into the Society after the *Proceedings* went to press are entered in a supplemental list on pages 414 ff.

² This enrolment is indicated by the member on his application card or renewal of membership card.

- ARAI, CLARENCE T., 1102 E. Spruce St., Seattle, Wash. *b h*
- ARESON, C. W., De Pelchin Faith Home, Houston, Tex. *I*
- *ARMSTRONG, DR. CLAIRETTE P., Children's Court, 9 E. 97th St., New York
- *ARMSTRONG, DONALD, 3000 Connecticut Ave., Washington, D.C.
- ARMSTRONG, ELSIE, 1369 Hyde Park Blvd., Chicago
- ARMSTRONG, DR. SAMUEL TREAT, Hillbourne Farms, Katonah, N.Y. *M*
- ARTMAN, J. M., 308 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago *L*
- †ASH, ISAAC E., Ohio University, Athens, Ohio *A g k l*
- AUBREY, EDWIN E., Divinity School, University of Chicago, Chicago *a b c L*
- AUGUSTUS, MILDRED E., 501 W. Michigan Ave., Ypsilanti, Mich. *b d h i J k*
- AUSTIN, CHARLES BURGESS, 112 Cottage Ave., Mount Vernon, N.Y.
- AUSTIN, MRS. GERTRUDE B., 112 Cottage Ave., Mount Vernon, N.Y.
- BABCOCK, DONALD C., University of New Hampshire, Durham, N.H.
- BABER, R. E., Y.M.C.A. Graduate School, Nashville, Tenn. *c e F K*
- BACHMAN, REV. C. G., 235 E. Main St., New Holland, Pa.
- BACKSTROM, C. ERNEST, 2013 G St., Lincoln, Neb. *h i k l*
- BADANES, SAUL, 32 Cameron Ave., Babylon, L.I., N.Y.
- BAIDER, MISS ARIE, 714 Clifford St., N.E., Atlanta, Ga.
- BAILEY, MRS. N. L., 701 Beckwith St., S.W., Atlanta, Ga.
- BAIN, READ, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio *A b c j l m*
- BAKER, A. G., University of Chicago, Chicago *b c L*
- BAKER, PAUL, 2025 Lubbock Ave., Fort Worth, Tex. *B h M*
- BAKER, SIBYL, Franklin Administration Bldg., Washington, D.C. *H*
- BALCH, WILLIAM M., 610 N. 6th St., Baldwin City, Kan.
- BALLARD, LLOYD V., 515 Park Ave., Beloit, Wis. *a b K*
- BAMFORD, EDWIN F., Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa. *b C d h i k m*
- BANE, JULIET LITA, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. *b k*
- BANTLE, FLORENCE O., Hamburg, N.Y.
- BANZET, ERNEST M., Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio *b g j*
- BARBER, MRS. ELSA R., Box 30, R.F.D. 1, St. Charles, Ill.
- BARBER, MRS. M. C., 376 Houston St., N.E., Atlanta, Ga.
- BARGER, J. WHEELER, Montana State College, Bozeman, Mont. *c g h j*
- BARKER, ROBERT H., 313 14th St., University, Va. *a B k m*
- †BARNES, GERALD, 920 W. Lovell St., Kalamazoo, Mich. *b j k*
- BARNES, HARRY E., 186 Elm St., Northampton, Mass. *A*
- BARNES, IRENE, Department of Sociology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. *a e f*
- BARNHART, KENNETH E., Birmingham Southern College, Birmingham, Ala. *a B h k l m*
- BARRY, A. G., 1203 W. Dayton St., Madison, Wis. *b d f h i j k M*
- BARTLETT, HARRIETT M., 985 Memorial Drive, Cambridge, Mass. *b c f l j k*
- BARTON, MISS O. LILLIAN, 217 Normal Ave., Normal, Ill.
- BATCHELOR, ELLEN M., 7 Willis Ave., Columbia, Mo. *c d G h*
- BAUBLITZ, E. RAYMOND, Box 943, Dayton, Ohio *d H l*
- BEACH, WALTER G., Stanford University, Calif.
- BEAL, OWEN F., 1300 S. 15th, E., Salt Lake City, Utah
- BEASLEY, WILLIS C., Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio *b e f i K M*
- BEATY, R. C., Gainesville, Fla.
- BEAVERS, MISS LILLIAN, 775 Greens Ferry, S.W., Atlanta, Ga.
- BECK, F. O., 2000 Sheridan Road, Evanston, Ill. *L*
- BECK, P. G., Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio *b c f G*
- BECKER, HOWARD P., Box 71, Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. *A b k*
- BEDFORD, CAROLINE, 2221 Locust St., St. Louis, Mo. *i j*
- BEELEY, ARTHUR L., University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah *I m*
- BEHRENS, MARIE, 140 E. 155th st., Harvey, Ill. *a b c H J k l m*
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